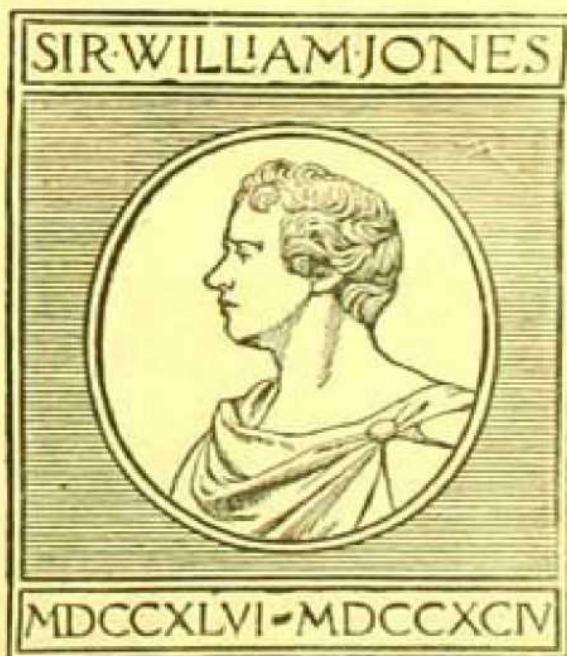




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1. **The Invention of Fire.**

By H. G. GRAVES, *Controller of Patents, India.*

"When this invention was made, tell me, what was then the state of the Art, what was then known?"

In a popular lecture, recently delivered at the Indian Museum, Calcutta, Mr. J. Coggin Brown dealt with man in the ages of stone implements and his development in India through roughly hewn and polished stones to the use of metal tools. A classification of the various stages throughout the world, going back through countless ages, led to the mention of one great step in the progress of mankind—the invention of fire—perhaps somewhere between fifty and a hundred million years ago. Necessarily no exact date can be given; only an imaginative approximation is possible on the available, but all too scanty, data. The geologist, who has to deal with periods of time involving millions of years, frankly says that some millions more or less in his estimate are of less account than a hundred years or so in the date of an event determined by a historian in early historic times. In turn, his errors are commensurable with a week sooner or later for some obscure happening a century or two ago.

The invention of fire, or the discovery of fire, call it what you will, what has it not meant to the progress of mankind? Yet it must not be thought of as one great outburst of progress. Rather it should be considered as a gradual development, progressing by slow and uncertain stages, many times forgotten and rediscovered in those days of primitive know-



ledge. Nowadays fire seems a simple thing. A handful of sticks, a few dry leaves, or a piece of paper, or some fine twigs perhaps, and possibly some coal, are the essentials. Nor must the matches be overlooked, and then there is the blazing fire, ready to cook man's food or to warm him when he is cold. It is a necessity for existence, and knowledge of its utilisation might almost be termed of the axiomatic order. When the fire dies down and the coldness grows, it is so easy to add a few more sticks or another piece or two of coal to make the fire blaze up again, and again to give warmth. But is it all so simple, that addition of another stick? The dog or the cat will stretch itself before the fire and get warm but will never think of replenishing the fire as it grows low. A trick dog might be trained to do so, perhaps, or an imitative monkey, but that presupposes a teacher.

In the days of primitive man, there was no teacher save necessity, and though necessity may be urgent, she is not very audible in her manner of giving advice. Early man must be conceived as approximating closely to the animal in his deductive and inductive powers and in his easy forgetfulness. Or perhaps he might have been compared in those respects to a young child, just passed the days of infancy. Give such a child some sweets, stuck in the bottom of a bottle, with a neck too small to admit his hand. He enjoys the noise of banging the bottle on the floor. If, perchance a sweet falls out, he enjoys that also, but it takes a long time to associate the extraction of the sweet with the pounding performance. It is a still further advance to utilise a stick to prise out a sweet when the hammering fails. Ten minutes afterwards, he has forgotten how to use the stick, and has to rediscover it many times before it is part of his mental equipment.

Much in the same condition was man millions of years ago. He threw a stick on a fire and it blazed up again. That did not appeal to him as a case of cause and effect. Probably he straightway forgot that he had thrown the stick and would stand glowering at the red but dying fire, which had warmed him, or which perhaps had rendered him service. Or he might pelt the fire with green branches or even stones, oblivious of the essentials of combustibility. To keep a fire alight is beyond the power of any animal or child, until certain imitative or reasoning powers have been developed. So it must have been with early man. This point is reiterated because the "invention" of fire involved so many stages, each of which must, in the intellectual development of that day, be imagined as constituting an enormous advance. Consider a few of the steps.

First there was the appreciation of the fact that fire was good for anything. Next came the ability to control a fire, to keep it alight within proper bounds. Afterwards followed the



power to preserve the fire from day to day and from year to year, and to convey it from camp to camp. Then ensued one of the greatest discoveries of all, the potentiality of originating a fire where no fire existed. It was almost an act of creation. No more was a long journey up the nearest volcano, or a long wait for the next forest fire, necessary to renew the happiness of the community when the fire-tender had been negligent and had been soundly thrashed on that account by a cold, hungry, and very angry community.

How many thousands of years elapsed before that pitch of perfection was attained no one can tell, but we do know that matches, now two annas a dozen boxes, were only invented less than ninety years ago. Of course it is all very speculative, these various steps in the conversion of fire, one of the great forces of nature, into the service of man, which is the essence of one division of the work of the civil engineer. In one century the engineer has given us railways, telegraphs and flying machines. The primitive engineer was not so expeditious. He had not the skill and experience of ages to help him in applying a discovery. So, as he did it so very slowly perhaps a few moments may now be spared for imaginings of his progress.

Lamb, in one of his happy essays, described the discovery of roast-pig in China after a fire had swept away the owner's house. More primitive man found his roast in a burnt-out forest, but even then one must conceive much trepidation and hunger before he became educated enough for the taste and smell to appeal to him. Or perhaps the comfortable sensation near a red-hot lava flow on a cold, wet and windy night first created a desire for warmth, when the sun, that only shines by day, had gone. Or did an infuriated man brandish a burning branch against a sabre-toothed tiger, and find it more effective than a throwing-stone? Anyway, fire always existed, and he somehow managed to appreciate it and then to utilise it.

Some of the difficulties of keeping fire alight have already been discussed. The selection of proper materials and their addition at the right time are not learned in a hurry as any picnic party, unaccustomed to country life, knows only too well. Then the foresight to lay in a stock of combustible material and to protect it from rain, is not the result of a day. Much bitter experience also probably had to be endured from uncontrolled conflagrations before our ape-like progenitor could keep his fire in proper bounds. The application of fire to cooking is part of a larger subject with which this note does not intend to deal.

The carriage of fire was the next great step to be learnt. A burning brand in itself is not a very portable object and is not easily concealed in case of emergency. Some material is required with the property of long smouldering and ready re-igni-

tion. With that extinct, the tribe might have to wait long years or make long journeys to get a renewal. Even now, amongst uncivilised races, men will prefer to visit a neighbouring camp to replenish their extinct fire when matches have not reached them. Imagination boggles at the invention of means for restoring a fire *de novo*, and yet it is not the greatest step in the "invention" of fire as compared with its first utilisation.

Several sources of natural fire, unstarted by man, are to be found. There is the volcano always available, while forest or prairie fires are spasmodic. In addition to the volcano, in the ordinary and more popular sense, as a source of fire, there are, as Mr. Coggin Brown has suggested, mud volcanoes and similar eruptions also to be considered. From these, gas in large quantities is often given off, and it very readily takes fire. Whether the starting of flame is due to spontaneous combustion, as occurs with certain compounds such as phosphoretted hydrogen, or to lightning, or to some hydro-electric action, or to the impact of ejected stones, is not clear. The fact remains that certain forms of natural gas do take fire and often remain alight for years if the supply is continuous. Natural fire would also from time to time be found in the outercrop of coal seams or beds of peat under favourable circumstances.

Forest fires are now generally due to man, but they occasionally are originated by lightning, or possibly by friction between dry branches waving in the wind, or by volcanic eruptions. Spontaneous combustion, such as occurs in stacks of straw or hay, is an unlikely source of fire in nature, and there are few recorded instances of man's adaptations of that phenomenon for useful purposes. Nor is it very likely that sparks from a fall of rock would start a fire. Yet it is possible that primitive man observed the frictional or spark origin and adopted one or the other. Or again it is possible that he noticed the warmth when rubbing two things together and, by pushing the friction to a limit, obtained fire.

Most people are inclined to give priority to the frictional origin as opposed to a percussive origin, but now it is not possible to decide with any certainty. Legendary lore will not carry us back to the days of the mammoth, and so is absolutely useless. The flint and steel is of course much easier to work than the rubbing stick or the fire drill, but then iron and steel were unknown. Sparks can be obtained with much difficulty from properly chosen stones, such as pyrites or possibly from carbonaceous grit as long as there is sufficient combustible matter present to ignite in the highly heated particle which flies off on impact. Ordinary stones, except perhaps with very great violence, will not spark. On the other hand the fire stick method is very difficult to work and is essentially a matter of knack. How difficult it is, few people know, though



they will glibly say that is the method they would adopt in an emergency. When they do try, they generally get much warmer than their instruments.

Except in more or less uncivilised places, and here and there for ceremonial purposes, the match has ousted the flint and steel and the fire stick. It, in turn, may be replaced by the spongy platinum or other form of "automatic lighter" in which, by the opening of a neat little pocket case, a file is caused to scratch a mass of an alloy of iron and cerium giving showers of sparks to ignite a small spirit lamp. The distribution of the fire stick method in its various forms has been dealt with very fully and carefully by Mr. E. B. Tylor in his "*Researches on the Early History of Mankind and the Development of Civilisation*," and by Mr. H. Balfour in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. XLIV, 1914, p. 32.

The focussing lens and the fire pump, in which tinder is ignited by the heat due to the compression of air, are comparatively modern methods, modern that is as compared with the stone and iron ages. Mr. H. Balfour describes the five piston and its origin and distribution in the "*Anthropological Essays presented to E. B. Taylor, 1907*." The origin of gunpowder has been ascribed to a fortuitous mixture of charcoal with saltpetre from the saline accretions on midden heaps, but such a mixture requires flame for ignition and is not readily set on fire by percussion.

In this sketch of the origin of the use and generation of fire for the service of man, the use of wood has been assumed as the only fuel. Later on, other fuels would be employed, such as charcoal, coal and peat, and also natural gas and oils would be utilised. Artificial gas did not come into vogue until the beginning of last century when William Murdoch's experiments resulted in lighting the Soho works of Boulton Watt & Co. near Birmingham.

Charcoal, which is wood freed almost completely from its volatile constituents, is smokeless and can be considered as a development of charred embers from a fire of wood, brought into the primitive man's cave to add to his comfort; but probably primitive man, like many of his modern descendants, did not object to smoke in his dwelling. When coal was first employed is very uncertain, but the history of coal mining has been worked out by Galloway and other authors. Natural gas is not a portable thing but at one time it attained a very important religious signification. Within the last fifty years the gas wells of America have been an enormous source of power. With uses of coke and artificial gas in all their many forms in historic periods, this paper is not concerned. Only attention is drawn to it in order to show that development increased in rapidity as time went on, and it may be remarked that every step was delayed by allegations of non-utility.



The main object of this paper has been to show the excessive slowness with which the development of the utilisation of fire in the service of man has proceeded. This has been here ascribed in part to the incapacity of primitive man to appreciate the effect of any observation he may have made, and to his inability to remember and to apply his knowledge when remembered. Very largely this was due to want of education ; and early man was hampered to an inordinate extent, as compared with man of the present day, by lack of power to apply analogy and to use inherited skill, induction and deduction.

It is always easy to be wise after the event. It is difficult to appreciate how hard it is to invent anything which satisfies a really existent, but unrecognised, want ; and it is very easy, in view of existing knowledge, to be astonished at the apparent simplicity of the problem which has been solved with such trouble and pain. In any case involving the infringement of a patent, when the validity comes into question, it is more than exceedingly difficult to revert mentally to the state of the art at the date of the invention, or in other words, to obliterate from the mind all the progress that has ensued since the prior date. So to us, in the present day, fire and matches are everyday things—we know them so well and the state of affairs in their absence is almost inconceivable. Fire for the service of man probably took ages and ages to develop in the then existing stages of primitive civilisation, and life without fire is now unthinkable.

Life without matches is at least a hardship. For the sake of comparison the invention of matches amongst a civilised race, in contradistinction to the invention of fire amid a highly developed animal race may be considered in view of present knowledge. As has been said, flint, steel and tinder, with few exceptions were the prevalent means of getting fire until well on in the 19th century, say between 1840 and 1850. In 1827 a practical form of frictionally ignited match was first put on the market, but only on a very small scale at the very high price of a shilling (twelve annas) a box. Long before then, the want of some readier means of obtaining fire had been felt. From late in the 17th century some attempts had been made to utilise phosphorus which had just been discovered by Robert Boyle. The beginning of the 19th century saw the use of mixtures of sugar and potassium chlorate which are ignited by contact with strong sulphuric acid. The history may be read in the Encyclopaedia Britannica. In the sixties of last century, matches cost an anna a box at least. Now they can be bought, in spite of the war, at two annas (pence) or less per dozen and each box contains three score sticks.

Consider what this means. A neat little box with the potentiality of some fifty or more fires at the cost of a farthing or even less, and each fire is obtainable with practical cer-



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tainty within a second of time. The problem that had to be solved was to produce a stick, tipped with a sufficiency of composition to ignite it when struck. With matches in our hands, almost since the day we were born, it is very easy to overlook the details. First a composition had to be invented which would take fire but would not explode when struck or rubbed. Then it had to be brought into contact with something which would preserve the flame from it temporarily at least—a little stick or strip of paper was the obvious solution. It was eminently desirable to stick the stuff on the end of the stick so that the two things were always together and available for immediate use. That means the stuff must be such as to take fire when struck; it must be sufficiently adhesive to remain on the stick while the friction is taking place; and it must be sufficiently powerful to set fire to the stick, which, in turn, must be able to take and maintain the fire.

These are only a few of the problems that have to be solved in the production of a really good match. The match must be protected to some extent against damp. It must not stink like the early sulphur abominations did. The red-hot head must not fall off and, for further safety, the match must only strike on the box. Wood of suitable quality, not too brittle, easily cut into sticks, and sufficiently combustible must be found in sufficient quantities. Poison must be avoided—and so on and so on. Now we accept matches as a matter of course, and we forget all the skill and machinery involved in the production of boxes of matches by thousands of millions.

Let the match-user put himself back only a hundred years into the days of flint and steel and let the fire-user put himself back a hundred million years to the days of the man-monkey. Then let him consider the absence of the knowledge of a match and of the presence of skill to invent it. And let him consider the absence of knowledge of how to start or even to utilise and control a fire and the absence of skill in almost every direction save what might be called instinctive. Only by disabusing the mind of present knowledge in this way can the meaning of the "invention" of fire really be brought home to us in these days of civilisation.

"Then tell me, for thou knowest, what is fire?"

".....This fire I seek  
Not for myself.....  
But for my children and the after time,  
For great the need thereof, wretched our state":

".....and withdrew a tongue  
Of breathing flame, which lives to leap on earth  
For man the father of all fire to come."

Oh heavenly fire, life's life, the eye of day."

(*Prometheus the Firegiver.*) (By Robert Bridges.)



2. On the Genuineness of the Eighth Canto of the  
Poem *Kumāra-Sambhavam*.

By RAI MONMOHAN CHAKRAVARTI BAHADUR.

Of Kālidāsa very little is unfortunately known. Hence any scrap of information about his works would be welcome. In this paper I raise the question whether the eighth canto of his great poem the *Kumāra-sambhavam* (the birth of the war-god) is spurious or genuine.

The older reports on the search of Sanskrit manuscripts in India were often silent on the point. Found in few MSS. only. whether the manuscripts of this poem contained the eighth canto or not. Where the reports mention the number of the cantos, the manuscripts are found to contain generally not more than seven cantos. Manuscripts containing the eighth were rare. Moreover, the commentaries now existing run up, in ninety-nine instances out of hundred, to seventh canto only. Hence arises the question whether the eighth canto found in a few manuscripts is genuine or spurious.

In Bengal the mediæval Sanskrit writers appear to have been doubtful on the point. Bharata Deemed doubtful in Sena (Mallik) in his well-known commentary on the *Kumāra-Sambhavam* Bengal. voiced the traditional opinions of his predecessors when in the introductory verses he remarked<sup>1</sup>:

"It is said that the great poet Kālidāsa made the epic poem *Kumāra-Sambhavam* in sixteen (*sic* seventeen) cantos. The circulation of the last eight cantos ceased from supernatural reasons; while the eighth canto is not read from the curse of the goddess. A commentary on the (first) seven cantos

<sup>1</sup> Sanskrit College MS., vol. VI, 29, introd. verses 2-4:—

कुमारसंभवं नाम कालिदास महाकविः ।  
यचकार महाकाव्यं सुगः षोडशभिः त्रितम् ॥ [१ ॥ ]  
तस्य शेषाण्मुखं स्यां संचारोऽनुददेवतः ।  
पाढोऽहमस्य संग्रहं देवोशापाच विद्यते ॥ [२ ॥ ]  
टौका तत्सप्तश्चांस्य सुवोधाच्छ यथामनि ।  
गौराङ्गेन पुचेण भरतेन वितन्यते ॥ [४ ॥ ]

Bharata Sena's time is not yet settled. Anyhow he must be older than Saka 1650 or 1728 A.D., the date of a MS. of his *Ghaṭakarpara-tikā* (R. Mittra, Notices, vol. IX, No. 3172).

by name *Subodhā* (easy understanding) is (now) expounded according to the best of his powers by Bharata, son of Gaurāṅga Sena."

In view of such remarks it is worth examining this question at some length. The question of genuineness may be examined in two ways, either

- (i) by external evidence, or
- (ii) from its internal contents.

By external evidence is meant whether this canto was ever commented upon by any old commentators, or whether any of its verses was ever quoted or referred to in any of the older works.

On examining the existing commentaries it appears that

(a) Commentaries. Mallinātha, the versatile and popular *Tikā-kāra* on Kālidāsa's poems, annotated on the eighth canto.<sup>1</sup>

Mallinātha flourished in the first half of the fourteenth century. Though not very old, Mallinātha has the reputation of being a commonsense critic, and of being very particular as to the text and its different readings. Consequently his acceptance of the eighth canto as genuine has much weight.

Going further back, the oldest existing commentator on the *Kumāra-sambhavam* was Vallabhadeva of Kaśmīra. His gloss is named the *Pañjikā*. Its ordinary manuscripts omit the eighth canto. But several are reported to be fuller, containing notes on the eighth sarga. I myself have come across two manuscripts giving the eighth. One of them is in Saradā characters, and the other in Nāgri; and both appear to be pretty old in age.<sup>2</sup> They differ slightly from each other as regards the text of this canto, but as a rule they agree. I see therefore no sufficient reasons to doubt that Vallabhadeva accepted this canto as genuine. Vallabha notices different read-

<sup>1</sup> MSS. of Mallinātha's *Tikā* on the eighth canto are found in S. India. The *Tikā* has also been printed at Madras and Bombay. Mallinātha belonged probably to Telengānā.

<sup>2</sup> See Deccan College Library catalogue, Nos. 82 and 72 of 1883-4 (Sāradā), and No. 333 of 1892-95 (West Indian Nāgri). The eighth canto notes are on folios 196-201 of the Saradā MS. and on folios 48b to 56b of the Nāgri MS. The three introductory verses at the beginning of the poem are omitted by the Saradā MS., but are thus given in the Nāgri (fol. 1a):—

यस्य भृगावल्लिः कठे श्रुतदानं वृभुषिते ।  
 भानि रहडाचमालेव म वः पायादिनायकः ॥ १ [॥]  
 कालिदासोऽप्यः कुच वाक्यानारो वयं कुतः ।  
 तदिदं मंददीपेन नामवेष्ट्यप्रकाशनं ॥ २ [॥]  
 सथापि कियतेऽस्माभिः पञ्जिका स्कंदसंभवे ।  
 उद्गतावयमाचार्याम् वात्प्रव्यातलालमः ॥ ३ [॥]

ings of its text, which must have been therefore much older than his time.<sup>1</sup>

In the final colophon Vallabhadeva calls himself son of Ānandadeva.<sup>2</sup> He wrote commentaries on several other poems, such as Kālidāsa's *Rayhuvaiśam* and *Megha-dūtam*, Māgha's *Śiśupāla-vadham*, *Surya-satakam*, *Vakr-okti-pañcāśikā*, etc. Vallabhadeva's *Pañjikā* is quoted by Hemādri and Mallinātha. He must therefore be older than the thirteenth century at least. He is probably to be identified with Vallabhadeva, the grandfather of Kayata the Kaśmirian who wrote a *Tikā* on Ānnandavarḍhana's *Devi-satakam* during the reign of Bhīmagupta in 4078 Kaliyuga era (977 A.D.).<sup>3</sup> Allowing an interval of half a century for the two generations between Kayata and Vallabhadeva, the time of the latter falls in the second quarter of the tenth century. Judging from the commentaries therefore the eighth canto was considered an integral part of the poem from a time considerably older than the tenth century.

As regards quotations from or references to the canto,

(b) References in Rhetorical Works.

one naturally turns to those store-houses of quotations, the works on *Alaṅkāra* or rhetorics. One of the oldest

Sanskrit rhetoricians is Ānandavarḍhanācārya. In his *Vṛtti* or gloss on the *Dhvany-āloka* (the light on suggestiveness),<sup>4</sup> this author remarks that the famous descriptions of the amours of the highest deities by the great poets, though (essentially) improper, are saved from the fault of vulgarity by their genius; for example, the description of the amorous enjoyment of the Devī Pārvatī in the (poem) *Kumāra-sambhavam*. The author adds that such amorous descriptions by a poet without genius would clearly be faulty.

In commenting on this passage Ācārya Abhinava Gupta notes that descriptions of the amours of the highest deities are as improper as descriptions of the amours of one's parents.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For mention of different readings see, for example, under verse 32 of the eighth canto (No. 28 of the Nāgri MS.), विरहदौनकंठयोऽर्दिति पाठान्तरः।

<sup>2</sup> The Nāgri MS. final colophon (fol. 56b):—

रत्यान्देवाधिनि बलभविरचितायां कुमारसंभवविहतावहमः सर्गो समाप्तः।

<sup>3</sup> The *Kāvya-mālā*, I, p. 101, footnote.

<sup>4</sup> The *Dhvany-āloka*, Udyota III, Karikā 6 (Nir. Sāg. Press, pp. 137-8):—तथाचि महाकवीनामप्यनमदेवताविषयप्रसिद्धसंभोगशृङ्गारनिवासनाद्यनौ-चित्यं शक्तिनिरस्तुतं प्राप्यत्वेन न प्रतिभासते । यथा कुमारसंभवे देवीसंभोगवर्णनम् । एवमादौ च विषये यद्योचित्यत्यागत्याद्या दर्शितमेवायं । शक्तिनिरस्तुतञ्च चाच्युत्यनिरक्ष्यास्तमवसौयते । तथा चि शक्तिनिरचित्वेन कविना एवंविष्वे विषये शृङ्गार उपनिध्यमानः स्फुटमेव दोषत्वेन प्रतिभासते ॥

<sup>5</sup> The *Dhvany-āloka-locanam*, p. 138 :—

It is thus clear that the eighth canto of the *Kumāra*, which describes the amorous life of Śiva and Pārvatī after marriage, was known to the rhetoricians Abhinava Gupta and Ānandavarddhana. The former was a prolific writer whose time falls in the fourth quarter of the tenth and the first quarter of the eleventh century. The latter flourished, according to the *Rāja-taraṅgini*, in the time of the Kaśmirian king Anantavarman (second half of the ninth century).<sup>1</sup>

Several other older rhetoricians quote even particular verses of this canto. Without burdening this article with all the quotations, the following few may be mentioned as samples :—

(i) In the *Sarasvatī-kanth-ābhārana*, attributed to the king Bhoja of Dhāra (1021 A.D.), verse 11 is quoted to illustrate upamāna (similitude) subhead prativimba (reflexion), verse 49 for anādara-kṛta-vikāra (passion from lover's neglect), verses 79 and 80 for mada (intoxication).<sup>2</sup>

(ii) Ksemendra alias Vyāsadāsa, living in the time of the king Ānanta-rāja (1028-1080 A.D.), quotes in his *Suvṛttatilakam*<sup>3</sup> the verse 63 as an example of the metre Rathoddhatā, and in his *Aucitya-vicāra-carccā* criticises the verse 87 as not proper for Lord Śiva, the Guru of the three worlds.

(iii) In the *Tippanī* (gloss) of Namisādhu on Rudrata's *Kāvy-ālankāra* (composed in Samvat 1125 or 1068 A.D., some manuscripts give Samvat 1176 or 1119 A.D.), the verse 2 is quoted to illustrate non-forwardness (shyness) in a girl lover.<sup>4</sup>

(iv) In the commentary of Dhanika on Dhanañjaya's *Daśa-rūpaka* (twelfth century), the same verse 2 is cited for Mugdhā (a young artless girl) and for sādhvasabhāva (feeling of anxiety).<sup>5</sup>

(v) In the *Kāvy-ānusāsanam* of Hemacandra, a prolific Jaina writer (Samvat 1145-1229 or 1088-1172 A.D.), verses 5, 6,

उ नमदेवतासंभोगपरिमर्ज्ञे च पितृसंभोग इव लक्ष्यात्कादिना कथमन्त्कारावकाश  
इत्याच्छः । संभोगोऽपि च्छासु वर्णितस्याद् प्रतिभानवता कविना यथा तच्चेत विश्वानः  
हृदयं पौर्वपर्यपरामर्ज्ञं कर्तुं न ददाति ।

cf. Hemacandra's *Kāvy-ānusāsanam* (N. S. Press), p. 124.

<sup>1</sup> The Introduction to the *Dhvany-āloka*, pp. 1-2.

<sup>2</sup> The *Sarasvatī-kanth-ābhārana*, A. Barooah's ed., pp. 188, 286, 305, 308.

<sup>3</sup> The *Suvṛttatilakam* in the *Kāvya-mālā* II, p. 51, under यथा च सेव, that is Kālidāsa's. The *Aucitya-vicāra-carccā* with his own gloss, in the *Kāvya-mālā*, I, p. 120:—यथा वा कालिदासस्य (then quotes verse 87)-  
यथा चामिकासंभोगवर्णने पामरजारोमसुचितनिलोक्यासञ्जनखराजिविराजितोष्मूलहृत-  
विलोचनले चित्तोचनस्य भगवनस्त्रियजगच्छुरोयेदुक्तं तेनानौचित्वमेव परं प्रबन्धाच्छ-  
पुष्टाति ।

\* Rudrata's *Kāvy-ālankāra*, Nir. Sāg. ed., p. 143.

<sup>5</sup> Dhanika's commentary, the *Āloka*, N. S. ed., pp. 54, 128.



11 and 63 are quoted. The poem itself is quoted therein as an example under the sub-heads, description of night, of sunset, of moon-rise, of wine-drinking and of amorous dalliance, subjects which are peculiar to the eighth canto only.<sup>1</sup>

It is thus clear that this canto was known to the rhetoricians from before the ninth century, and that none considered it to be spurious. Ksemendra in quoting the verses 61 and 87 calls them distinctly as Kālidāsa's.

Let us now turn to internal evidence. The first point is Internal Evidence. metre. The general metre of the canto is Rathodhatā, but the last verse is in Mālinī. Such an arrangement introducing a variety in metre of the last one or two verses is characteristic of Kālidāsa's epic poems. Moreover the metre Rathoddhatā was used by the poet, for instance, in the body of the eleventh canto of the *Raghuvamśam*. Mālinī metre was also used by him several times for end verses, for example, in the second canto of the *Raghuvamsam*, and in canto first and second of the *Kumāra-sambhavam*.

In grammatical constructions I have come across no marked variations from the general run of Kālidāsa's works.

Next the subjects. They may be divided into two groups of ideas, erotic and non-erotic. The erotic ideas and descriptions need not be discussed at length. But in respect of them the eighth bears the same relation to the other seven cantos of the *Kumāra-sambhavam*, that the nineteenth canto of the *Raghuvamśam* bears to the rest of the cantos in that epic. The standard of rhetorical excellence is similar. In fact the rhetoricians while treating of the general ideas and various stages of erotic sentiment, quoted the verses of the eighth canto more frequently than the nineteenth, and quoted them generally as models of the poetic art.

The non-erotic group include verses describing natural scenery, such as the sunset (30-47), and the evening (52-75) on mountains. The easy flow of the lines, the general accuracy of the descriptions, the profusion and appropriateness of the similes, and the high passionate imagery of some of the ideas are not unworthy of the great poet. For example, take the following :—

38. The deers are entering the courtyards of the huts ; the trees by water-sprinkling are looking up vigorous ; the cows required for the Agnihotra (ceremony) are entering ; the fires are burning (for the evening homa) ; in these ways the hermitage is shining.

40. The western sides touched by the ruddy sun from

<sup>1</sup> The *Kāey-Ānusīśanam*, N. S. ed., pp. 40, 88, 102, 355-6 (in the *tikā* of his own). For his time, see Peterson's Fifth Report, Introduction, p. lxxxv.

a distance and therefore with few rays only is looking lovely like a virgin adorned on the forehead with pollened flowers of (red) Bandhujiva (*Pentapetes Phoenicia*).

56. Eyesight fails to pass upwards, downwards, sideways, frontwards and backwards. This world is living in the night like an ovum in the (dark) ovary.

57. Between the pure and the impure, the stationary and the moving, the curved and the straight, all (differences) have been obliterated by this darkness. Shame to the darkness for removing the distinctions (between the good and the bad) !

63. The moon with its finger-like rays removing the (black) hair-like darkness from the bud-like (shut) lotus eyes is, as it were, kissing the (beloved) night.

Sufficient facts have now been adduced, and they fairly

The cause of its omission in MSS.

prove that the eighth canto formed part of the original poem. Why then

has it been omitted from most manu-

scripts ? Its disappearance is, I think, due to the subject selected. The amorous dalliance of the Divine Being and His consort, described like the dalliance of an ordinary human lover and his mistress, shocked the religious instincts. Unlike Vaiṣṇavism that permitted such amorous descriptions, Śaivism and Śāktism were more strict and stern. The Saiva rhetoricians condemned such descriptions directly and indirectly; and their condemnation was followed by the gradual dropping of the canto, from ordinary manuscripts. Finally we see the disappearance attributed to a curse of the goddess Pārvati.

I conclude this paper with a discussion of the question

Ninth to seventeenth  
cantos spurious.

as to the position of the eighth canto in the original poem. Was it the last canto, or was it followed by nine other

cantos as now alleged ? On this point the following facts are worth noticing. Firstly, the cantos nine to seventeen appear in extremely few manuscripts, mostly very recent manuscripts. Secondly, they were not commented upon or recognised by any of the older commentators like Vallabha or by any reliable critics like Mallinātha. Thirdly, neither the cantos generally nor any of their verses particularly have been quoted or referred to in rhetorical or other works. Fourthly, the verses are unequal in merit, and generally speaking do not run up to the high standard of excellence set up in the first eight cantos or in the other poems of Kālidāsa. The power is perceptibly less; and the similes, the great characteristic of the poet, much fewer and less appropriate. Fifthly, these cantos describe the growth of the Kumāra, his fight with the demon Tripura and his followers, and his destruction of them. These subject-matters disagree with the title of the poem which is expected to describe only the events leading



up to the birth of the war god. Sixthly, on comparing with the *Raghuvamśam* the intention of the poet appears to be to end his poem in the sweetness of erotics (*sṛṅgāra*). Its last (nineteenth) canto deals with the love and amorous dalliances of the king Agnivarna. Similarly, the *Kumāra-sambhavam* should end in the eighth canto dealing with the loves of Śiva and Pārvati.

A consideration of these facts and others leads to the conclusion that the cantos ninth to seventeenth are probably spurious. At least it would be safer to treat them like *Nalodayam* and other poems attributed to Kālidāsa, as not his until proved otherwise.

Kālidāsa's Time—Third quarter of the fifth century.

In the present paper I do not propose to discuss the *vezata questio* of Kālidāsa's time. Twelve years back I had an occasion to discuss this subject. I then came to the conclusion that Kālidāsa should belong to a period of great culture, that this period can only be the period of the Imperial Guptas, and that internal evidence point to his flourishing in the time of Kumāra Gupta and Skanda Gupta, say in the third quarter of the fifth century A.D.<sup>1</sup> Since then I have come across no authentic facts pointing otherwise, and so must leave the date question as it was then.

<sup>1</sup> J.R.A.S. 1903, pp. 183-186 : Do., 1904, pp. 158-161.

### 3. Taxilá as a Seat of Learning in the Páli Literature.

By BIMALA CHARAN LAW, B.A.

Taxilá has been frequently referred to in the Páli Literature as a centre of learning in Ancient India. Pupils from different parts of India used to visit the place for learning various arts and sciences. According to Dhammapadatthakathá, Pasenadi, the king of Késala, was educated at Taxilá.<sup>1</sup> Jivaka, the renowned physician at the court of King Bimbisára was educated in medicine and surgery here.<sup>2</sup> Princes from various kingdoms used to be sent to this place for their education.<sup>3</sup> In one place<sup>4</sup> there is a reference to a young man of the Lájha country going to Taxilá for education. Lájha is the Páli form of Rādha. As to its identification I agree with Mr. Nandalal Dey who in his 'Notes on the History of the district of Hugli or the Ancient Rādha' (J.A.S.B. New Series, Vol. VI, 1910, p. 604) writes: "It should be born in mind that the princess Suppadevi was carried away by a lion at Lájha while she was proceeding from Vanga to Magadha (Modern Behar), and therefore Lájha must have been situated between Vanga and Magadha and not in Kalinga. The identification of Lāla or Lāta, the native country of Vijaya with Guzerat by some writers cannot be at all correct." In several places in the Páli Játakas,<sup>5</sup> there are references to highly renowned teachers living at Taxilá and various subjects that were taught there. In one of the Játakas, a very beautiful picture of the student life of those days has been drawn (Játaka, Vol. II, p. 277). A son of the King of Benares went to learn arts at Taxilá from a renowned teacher. He carried with him 1,000 gold coins as the teacher's fee. In those days, there were two classes of pupils—(i) those who used to pay for their education, (ii) those who served their teacher during the day in lieu of payment and received instructions during the night. The paying pupils used to live in the house of their teacher like his eldest son. Corporal punishments for offences were not unknown in those days as there is reference to a prince being beaten by his preceptor for an offence. From the Cittasam-bhūta Játaka,<sup>6</sup> it appears that the instructions were given to the higher classes only, namely, to the Brahmins and Kshat-

<sup>1</sup> P.T.S. edition, p. 211.

<sup>2</sup> Mahāvagga (Vinaya Piṭaka edited by Dr. Oldenberg), VIII. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Játakas, Vol. I, p. 259; Vol. V, pp. 161, 210, 457.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., Vol. I, p. 447.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., Vol. VI, p. 347; Vol. I, pp. 402, 463, 317.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 391.

triyas, for it has been said there that two Candála youths disguised as Brahmins were learning sciences from a teacher, but were expelled when found out. Of the subjects taught, the three Vedas and eighteen Víjjás are frequently mentioned. The three Vedas are the Rigveda, Sámaveda, and Yajurveda. The Atharvaveda as the fourth Veda has been mentioned nowhere in the Páli Játakas. In many places<sup>1</sup> pupils have been described as learning *sippas* (*Silpas*) only, but the word *sippa* appears to have been used in the comprehensive sense of learning.

In the Kosiya Játaka<sup>2</sup> it is stated that during the reign of Brahmadatta, the King of Benares, Bodhisatta being born in a Brahmin family studied the three Vedas and eighteen Víjjás at Taxilá; became a renowned teacher at Benares and used to teach the three Vedas and eighteen Víjjás to the Kshattriya princes and the Brahmin boys. In the Dummedha Játaka<sup>3</sup> we find that during the reign of Brahmadatta of Benares, the Bodhisatta was born in the womb of the chief queen of Brahmadatta and was called Brahmattakumáro. At the age of 16, he went to Taxilá and mastered the three Vedas and eighteen Víjjás. There is a description in the Bhimasena Játaka<sup>4</sup> as to how the Bodhisatta learnt the three Vedas and the eighteen Víjjás from a renowned teacher at Taxilá, and in many other Játakas<sup>5</sup> we find that the Bodhisatta became well versed in the three Vedas and eighteen Víjjás at Taxilá.

In the Bhimasena Játaka<sup>6</sup> we find that the Bodhisatta learnt archery at Taxilá and afterwards became a famous archer. After learning the three Vedas and the eighteen Víjjás at Taxilá he went to a weaver named Bhimasena who was so called because of his gigantic appearance, and asked him to search for an appointment for himself as an archer, assuring him that the Bodhisatta would actually do all his work for him. When Bhimasena got the appointment as an archer to the King of Benares, he was asked by the king to kill a tiger which was devouring all his subjects. Bhimasena at once killed the tiger, being guided by the Bodhisatta, and was rewarded. On another occasion he killed a wild buffalo. He became proud of his strength and valour and began to disregard the Bodhisatta. Shortly afterwards, a foreign king attacked Benares. Bhimasena was sent on an elephant, but he was so frightened that he was about to fall down from the back of the animal. The

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., Vol. VI, p. 347; Vol. I, pp. 406, 431, 447; Vol. V, pp. 177, 210.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Vol. I, p. 463.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., Vol. I, p. 285.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., Vol. I, p. 356.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., Vol. I, pp. 505, 510; Vol. IV, p. 200; Vol. II, p. 87; Vol. III, pp. 115, 122.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., Vol. I, p. 356.

Bodhisatta sent him home and defeated the foreign king. In the Asadisa Jātaka<sup>1</sup> we find that the Bodhisatta mastered the three Vedas and the eighteen Vījjās at Taxilā. He was born as the eldest son of the King of Benares named Asadisa and he had a younger brother named Brahmadatta. His father willed away his throne to his eldest son, but he refused to take the kingdom and gave it over to his younger brother. The councillors intrigued. Upon this, he left the kingdom and went to the dominion of another king where he made himself known as a Bowman. The king appointed him as his archer. In order to remove all doubts about him from the minds of his old bowmen, the king asked him to bring down a mango from the top of a tree with his bow and arrow. He succeeded in doing so by shooting an arrow to the sky which came to the earth with the mango aimed at.

In the Sarabhaṅga Jātaka,<sup>2</sup> the Bodhisatta was born in the womb of the wife of a priest. His father sent him to Taxilā to learn arts. He studied arts and paid fees to the famous teacher. After completing his education, he received from his teacher Khaggaratana (a valuable sword), Sandhiyuttamendakasingadhanum (a bow made up of the horn of a ram), Sandhiyuttatunhiram (a quiver made up of joints), Sannāhakañcukain (an armour), Unhisa (a turban). The Bodhisatta trained up 500 young men and then returned home. The king, in order to see the arts of the Bodhisatta, collected 60,000 archers and he caused his drum to be beaten in the city intimating to the people to come and see the arts of the Bodhisatta. He came to the assembly with a sword only in his hands concealing other things given by his teacher. The assembled archers refused to give their bows to him. Bodhisatta requested the king to encircle a space in the centre with a cloth and entered into the enclosure. After entering into the enclosure, he put on a turban and took his bow. He requested the king to call men from 4 classes—Akkhanavedhi, Válavedhi, Saddavedhi, and Saravedhi. Then the king summoned the archers. The Bodhisatta gave 30 arrows to each and asked them to shoot them at him simultaneously while he would prevent them alone. The archers refused to shoot at the young Bodhisatta. They afterwards shot and the Bodhisatta prevented them by *náráca* (a light javelin). The Bodhisatta said that he would pierce them by an arrow. They became terrified. Four plantain plants were kept on four sides and he pierced them by one arrow. He was further requested to show more feats, namely, *saralatthi* (a stick of arrows), *sararajjum* (a rope of arrows), *saravni* (a row of arrows), *sarapásāda* (a palace of arrows), *saramandapa* (a pavilion

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., Vol. II, p. 87.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Vol. V, p. 127.

of arrows), *sarasopāna* (a ladder of arrows), *sarapokkharanī* (a tank of arrows), *sarapadumam* (lotus of arrows), *saravassam* (a flight of arrows). He pierced a plank 8 fingers thick, an iron-sheet one finger thick, a cart full of earth and sand, and a hair from the distance of an *Usabha*<sup>1</sup> by the sign of an egg-plant (*vātingaṇa*). In the *Pañcāvudha Jātaka*,<sup>2</sup> we find that in the past when Brahmadatta was reigning in Benares, Bodhisatta was born as his son and the Brahmins foretold that he would be the best man in the Jambudipa in using five kinds of weapons. He went to a famous teacher at Taxilā to learn arts. When he finished learning arts he was given five kinds of weapons by his teacher. From Taxilā on his way to Benares he met a Yakkha named Silesaloma. When Bodhisatta was attacked by the Yakkha, he first of all shot 50 poisoned arrows one after another. He then used sword and spear, and struck with the club, with the right hand, with the left hand, with the right leg, with the left leg, and at last with the head. When the weapons proved to be of no effect, and when he was caught by the Yakkha, he said that he had *Vajirāvudha* (a weapon of knowledge) with him with which he would be able to put an end to the life of the Yakkha. At last the Yakkha was defeated.

In the *Susīma Jātaka*,<sup>3</sup> the Bodhisatta was born in the womb of the wife of a priest. At the Hatthisuttam. age of 16, he lost his father. His father was a *hatthimāngalakārako*. When the king wished to perform *hatthimāngala* ceremony, his ministers requested him to choose a priest from among the elderly Brahmins. Upon this, the widow of the priest became sorry and her young son coming to know of his mother's sorrow enquired as to where he would be able to learn Hatthisuttam and three Vedas. His mother asked him to go to Taxilā which was at a distance of 20,000 Yojanas. The young son went to Taxilā in a day and learnt Hatthisuttam in a day and he returned on the third day. He took part in the ceremony on the fourth day.

In the *Campeyya Jātaka*,<sup>4</sup> it is related that a young man of Benares learnt Ālambanamantam (man-tam for charming snakes) at Taxilā. The Bodhisatta was born as the Nāga-king in the Campā River between Aṅga and Magadha. He was very righteous. On a full-moon day, he observed Uposatha (sabbath) coming on shore out of water. The young Brahmin on his way home saw the Nāga-king and charmed him by his mantra, but he was afterwards saved by his wife.

<sup>1</sup> *Usabha* is a measure of distance = 20 *yatthis*, and 1 *yatthi* = 7 *rata-*  
*nas* (Abhidhānappadipikā, pp. 196, 996).

<sup>2</sup> *Jātaka*, Vol. I, p. 273.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 47.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 456.

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*Taxilá as a Seat of Learning.*

21

It is mentioned in the Vrahāchatta Jātaka<sup>1</sup> that a son of Nidhiuddharana-mantam. the King of Kosala learnt *Nidhiuddharana mantam* at Taxilá. He then found out the hidden treasure of his deceased father and with the money thus obtained he engaged troops and reconquered the lost kingdom of his father.

<sup>1</sup> Jātaka, Vol. III, p. 115.

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#### 4. A Note on the Bengal School of Artists.

By S. KUMĀR, M.R.A.S., *Supdt. of the Reading Room,  
Imperial Library, Calcutta.*

In 1869, Dr. Anton Schieffner of St. Petersburg (now Petrograd) published, under the auspices of the Russian Imperial Academy, a German translation of Tārānātha's History of Buddhism in India. The work is originally in Tibetan and it is almost a sealed book, as it were, to many who are not very well acquainted with the language. But the translation has made the work more popular. It has almost become a fashion, nowadays, with a certain section of Orientalists to speak of it as an authoritative work on the history of Northern India during the pre-Muhammadan period. The original work was written in about the beginning of the 17th century A.D. It is an embodiment of traditions in the shape in which they reached the author, mostly garbled and strongly biased, and with a large amount of personal equation which might be accounted for the creed of the author. An analysis of Tārānātha's statements has not yet been completed, so that for the present the actual historical value of the work cannot be estimated with any amount of definiteness. But so much has already been proved as would enable us to say that it would not be quite safe to regard Tārānātha's work as a record of unadulterated historical facts, or of reliable traditions. It is a curious jumble of facts and fiction, of truth and untruth, of proved historical facts and garbled Buddhistic traditional accounts. What we have said above might be illustrated by referring to a particular instance taken out of Tārānātha's History.

Just before the accession of the Pālas of Bengal there were anarchy and lawlessness in the country,—a fact recorded by Tārānātha in the following terms:—“Zu der Zeit waren schon viele Jahre vergangen, ohne dass in Bangala Könige waren, und alle Einwohner des Reichs waren in Unglück und Kummer gerathen.” Further he says,—“Da sagten alle, dass er im Besitz grossen Tugendverdienstes sei, wählten ihn beständig zur Herrschaft und gaben ihm den Namen Gopāla.”<sup>1</sup>

There can be no doubt about the truth of these statements, as it has been borne out by the copper-plate grant

<sup>1</sup> Tār. Gesch. d. Buddh. i. Ind. Ueberset. v. A. Schieffner, p. 203.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 204.

executed in the reign of Dharmapāla.<sup>1</sup> Let us take another instance; we find it stated by Tārānātha that Mahipāla I and Rāmpāla reigned for 52 and 46 years respectively.<sup>2</sup> This might probably be regarded as not very far from truth, as many metal images have been discovered which were executed during the 48th year of Mahipāla's reign and one of stone dated the 42nd year of the reign of Rāmapāladeva. But Tārānātha fails to give a correct genealogy of the Pālas of Bengal in spite of their importance in the history of Northern School of Buddhism. They were the last of the royal patrons of the religion and it was under them that so many sects and doctrines originated, such diverse opinions were entertained, and such an abstruse metaphysics was developed as made the Mahāyānism a profound subject of study for the Orientalists. According to Tārānātha,<sup>3</sup> Devapāla was the father of Dharmapāla and Yaksapāla was the son of Rāmapāla.<sup>4</sup> But from the inscriptions and copper-plate grants we have come to know that Devapāla was the son of Dharmapāla<sup>5</sup> and that Yaksapāla had no blood-relationship with the Pāla Kings of Bengal.<sup>6</sup> In the Manahali copper-plate inscription of Madanapāladeva<sup>7</sup> a complete genealogy of the Pālas has been found which, when compared with the one given in Tārānātha's History, will show the discrepancies in the latter:—

*The list of Pālas as given by Tārānātha.*

Gopāla.	Srestapāla.
Devapāla.	Canakapāla.
Rasopāla.	Virapāla.
Dharmapāla.	Niyāpāla.
Masurakṣita.	Amarapāla.
Vanapāla.	Hastipāla.
Mahipāla.	Ksāntipāla.
Mahapāla.	Rāmapāla.
Sāmupāla.	Yaksapāla.

The genealogy of the Pālas as derived from the copper-plate grants of Dharmmapāla and Madanapāla, the 2nd and the last kings of this dynasty respectively:—

<sup>1</sup> Epi. Ind., Vol. IV, 243 ff., A.S.B. 1894, I, 46 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Gesch. d. Bud. i. Ind. Schiefner, pp. 225 and 251.

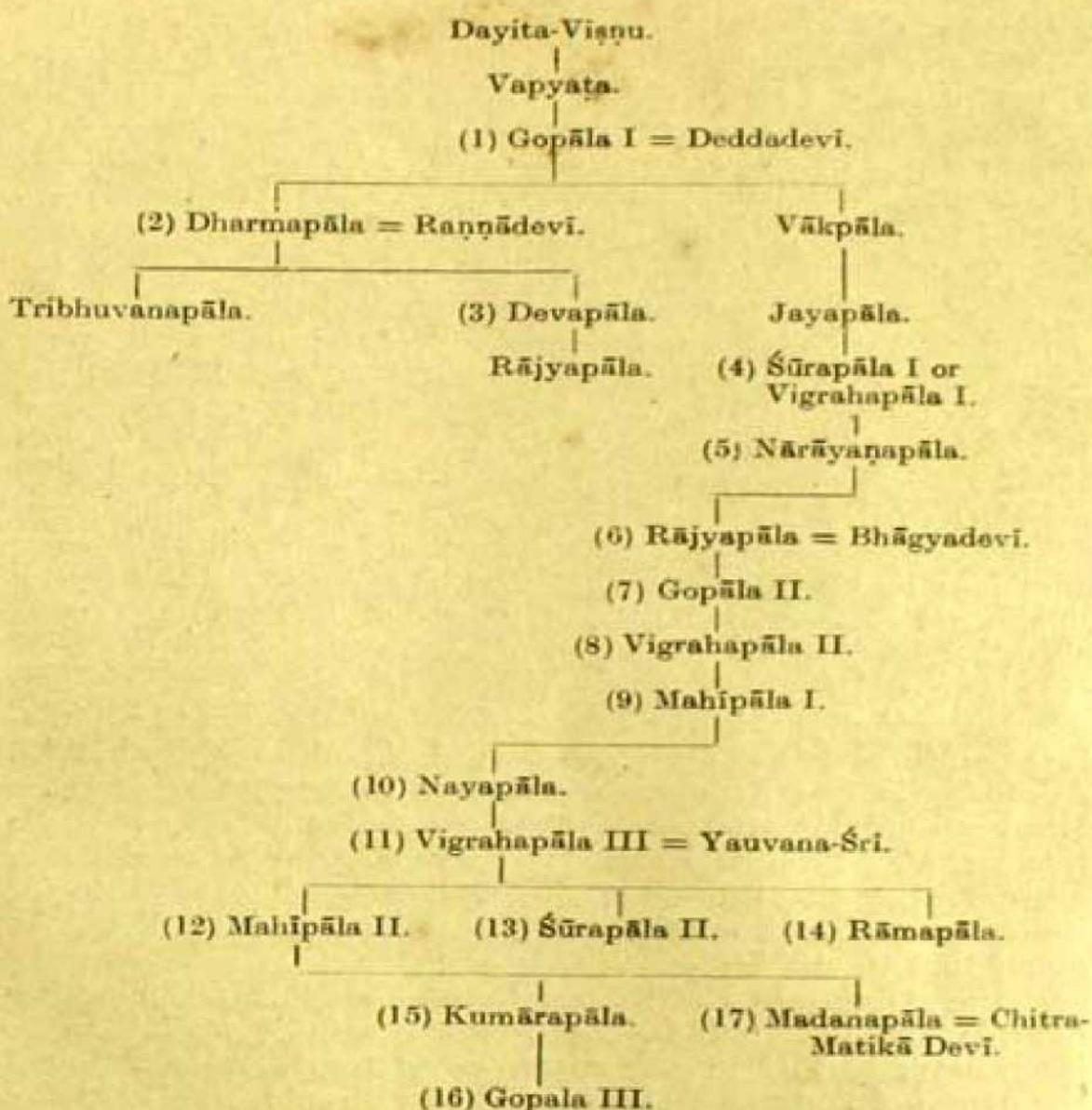
<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 208.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 251.

<sup>5</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. XX, 253 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., Vol. XVI, 63 ff.

<sup>7</sup> J.A.S.B., Vol. LXIX, I, 66 ff.



By a comparison of the above we see that Tārānātha's statements, like the accounts given in the genealogical works of Bengal, are altogether baseless and cannot be accepted as historical data unless they are supported by external evidence. Tārānātha has said that in a work by Kṣemendra-bhadra of Magadha a detailed account of the events has been given down to the reign of Rāmapāla, and that in the "Buddhapurāna,"—a work said to have been written by Indradatta of Kṣatriya caste, the history of the first four kings of the Sena dynasty is to be found. But these two works are yet to be discovered, and the mere mention of their names by Tārānātha cannot, at present, be of any use to us. Ghulām Husain Salim of Maldah, the author of Riyāz-us-Salātīn, has said in many places of his book that the accounts collected therein have been found in certain works, but he has not given their names, and up till now, in no work have been found those new facts which have

been included by Ghulām Husain in his History of Bengal. However, his statements have been supported by a number of Arabic inscriptions and hence there cannot be any hesitation in accepting as historical facts the accounts given in *Riyūz-us-Salātīn*. But the case is different with Tārānātha. Evidence is not lacking which proves that accounts given by him are mostly fictitious, rather than historical.

Relying on the statements of Tārānātha, which are mostly contradictory and untrustworthy, Mr. Vincent A. Smith writes:—“The Nāga productions of Nāgārjuna’s time were rivalled by the creations of Dhīmān and his son Bitpālo, natives of Varendra (Bengal), who lived during the reigns of Devapāla and Dharmapāla. Both father and son were skilled alike as painters, sculptors and bronze-founders. Bitpālo, who remained in Bengal, was regarded as the head of the Eastern School of Bronze-casting. But his disciples in painting being numerous in Magadha (South Bihar) he was also held to be the chief of the ‘Later Middle Country’ school of that art, whereas his father was considered to be the head of the Eastern School of paintings.<sup>1</sup>”

Mons. Foucher, in the course of his remarks, on the miniature paintings on the MSS. Add. 1643, Cambridge, and A 15, Asiatic Society of Bengal, says that the illuminators of these MSS. were “très suffisamment maîtres de leurs moyens.” To this Mr. V. A. Smith adds, “If they date from the eleventh century, they may represent the ‘Eastern’ School of Dhīmān, which, according to Tārānātha, was favoured in Nepāl at about that time.<sup>2</sup>”

The only source of information to which Mr. Smith has referred, in the above passages, is Tārānātha’s work. In no inscription, neither in any copper-plate grant, are to be found the names of Dhīmān and Vitapāla (or Bitpalo, as Tārānātha calls him). Mr. Aksaya Kumāra Maitreya of the Vārendra Research Society in his introduction to the “*Gauda-rājamāla*”—a Bengali work published by the Society,—probably following Tārānātha, says that in this age (during the reigns of Dharmapāla and Devapāla) Dhīmān and his son Vitapāla of Vārendra enriched the Gaudian art by the production of the finest specimens, and that these will be described in the “History of Art” to be published by the Vārendra Research Society. He further adds that the writers on the subject being not so well-informed are in the habit of explaining them away as specimens of provincial art of Magadha and Orissa of this age.

The “History of Art” above referred to has not yet seen the light of day. But on the occasion of the visit of His Ex-

<sup>1</sup> History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon, p. 305.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 324.

cellency Lord Carmichael to the Museum of the Society, they published a Guide Book in English. In this, it will be found that the Society have come to the conclusion that among the specimens exhibited, there are a few stone images which might be attributed to Dhiman or his immediate follower.<sup>1</sup> None of these, we presume, contain any inscription, as there is no mention of any in the Guide Book. We are at a loss to understand how a particular image might be regarded as a specimen of artistic creation of any particular person when there is nothing in the shape of inscription indicating the name of the artist. It is needless to say that such assertion, unsupported by evidence, has no place in history.

Many of the specimens of art which have been discovered in Southern and Western Bengal are not in any way inferior to those found in Northern Bengal, or Varendra. Recently Mr. Nagendranath Vasu has discovered, in the village of Attahāsa, in the District of Burdwan, a stone image of a goddess seated or squatting on her haunches. It is a figure of an old, emaciated woman, on the pedestal of which are to be found in relief the figures of two worshippers, one male and the other a female, of a horse and of an ass. We have not yet succeeded in finding what goddess it represents, but one would surely be convinced of the genius of its author by merely looking at it. The figure is draped by a single piece of cloth tied in the loins in the Indian fashion, but the upper part of the body is undraped. The skill, with which the ribs and the emaciated breast have been chiselled out, is certainly unrivalled and covers it with a glow of realism, so rare, and so artistic. At a first glance one would think that it represents a human form on the point of suffocation. The emaciated lips, parted by a faint smile, testifies the high order of artist's conception. On the neck of the image, there is a charm hanging by means of a thin string necklace, and on the wrists a pair of bangles is in evidence. There is no other ornament on the body of the image. Her hair is dishevelled and thrown on her back. A portion of the figure is broken away, yet what remains is a standing testimony of the high order of art, of which South and West Bengal may justly be proud. We do not remember

<sup>1</sup> According to Tārānāth, two great painters and sculptors, Dhiman and Bitapala, flourished in Varendra in the reign of Dharmapala and of his successor Devapala and founded independent schools. A comparison of exhibits Nos. 11, 14, 34, 95, and 99, which may be safely attributed to Dhiman or to his immediate followers, with the best specimens of mediaeval sculptures of Orissa, Behar and other parts of Northern India reproduced in Chapter VII of Mr. V. A. Smith's monumental work 'A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon', clearly shows that the Tibetan Historian is substantially correct, and that we have to look to Varendra for the fountain-head of Medieval Art of Northern India."—Guide-Book to the Exhibition of Relics of Antiquity and Manuscripts on the Occasion of the Visit to Rajshahi of H. E. Lord Carmichael, Governor of Bengal, p. 8.

that any such image,—a specimen of such a high order of artistic skill,—has ever been discovered anywhere else in Bengal, or in Bihar.

A few years back in Kāndī sub-division, in the District of Murshidābād, three bronze figures were discovered. We do not think such figures have, up till now, been found in Varendra. Mr. Rothenstein, the celebrated artist, has said that such beautiful specimens of Indian Metal figures are not to be found in any other museum. In the village of Cudāina in the District of Dācca a silver image of Viṣṇu has been discovered, which is kept in the Indian Museum. We do not know of any other figure, like this, which has been discovered elsewhere in India. So we see, that relying upon Tārānātha's statement we cannot by any means assert that Dhīmān was the inaugurator of the Eastern School of Indian Art, of which the history is yet to be written. From the specimens discovered up to the present time, we can safely assert that there was but one school and one system in the whole of Bengal and Bihār. The special features of the images collected should be studied before anything can be said in the shape of history about the "Eastern School" of the Indian artists.

A large number of dated images, both in metal and stone, executed during the reigns of the Pālas and the Senas of Bengal, has been discovered. These are to be studied with reference to a certain period of the national history before any serious attempt is made about a historical exposition of the "Eastern School" of Indian art.

## 5. Notes on the Geography of Orissa in the Sixteenth Century.

By RAI MONMOHAN CHAKRAVARTI, BAHADUR.

The special use of geography for historical studies has been often emphasized. Unfortunately very little is known about the old geography of Bengal and Orissa. So in the present paper I propose to discuss the available geographical details of mediæval Orissa, and its fiscal divisions.

By mediæval Orissa, I mean the time of its latest Hindu kings, and of the earliest Musalman occupation, that is, the sixteenth century. For the Hindu period the main authority is the *Mādalā Pāñji* or the chronicles of the Jagannātha temple at Puri.<sup>1</sup> These chronicles furnish us with two valuable lists. The first list is headed *desa-khañjā*, or lands allotted to the gods Jagannātha and Kṛttivāsa throughout Orissa. The second list gives a table of gods with their places throughout Orissa who were endowed with money grants from the government. These lists thus supply us with the names of many villages and their fiscal divisions as existing towards the close of the Hindu rule.

For the early Musalman period our main authority is the *Aīn-i Akbari* of Abul Fazl.<sup>2</sup> In the *Aīn* 15 he describes the Imperial dominion as existing in the fortieth year of the Ilāhi era (1594-5 A.D.). In this account Orissa is placed under Subah Bangalah, but only nominally. In fact its description and its list of mahals are all put at the end quite separate from those of Bengal.

The information given in the *Mādalā Pāñji* are only incidental to other topics, and therefore though valuable are incomplete. But the *Aīn* purports to give a complete list of the fiscal divisions constituting Orissa under the Mughal rule. Hence the *Aīn*'s list has been made the basis of the present paper.

During the subsequent Mughal rule the fiscal divisions of

<sup>1</sup> The meaning of *Mādalā* is not yet known. It is derived, I think, from *Mudala*, sealed with *mudi* or ring. The word *mudalena* is used in inscriptions, e.g., *Baidi-Mahāsenāpati-mudalena* (J.A.S.B., 1895, p. 149), again *avadhārita-mudale* (Do., p. 152); and *Hali-Prahāda-mudalena* (J.A.S.B., 1896, p. 254). Compare also *Mudrasta*, *mudra* and *hasta*, seal-handed, an officer in the temple of Jagannātha whose duty is to seal the temple doors at the end of the daily ceremonies. *Mādalā Pāñji* would thus mean a chronicle of the (royal) orders.

<sup>2</sup> Jarrett's English Translation, Bib. Ind. ed., vol. II, pp. 126-129, 142-144.

Orissa underwent much change. But their basis, the mahals, though increased in number, were not radically changed. Hence in checking and identifying the *Aīn*'s list considerable help has been obtained from the list of parganās supplied to the British at the time of their occupation.<sup>1</sup>

### General Remarks.

The *Mādalā Pāñji* reveals that the basic unit of the administration was the gā (Sansk. *grāma*) or village. The village had a headman, *padhāna* (Sansk. *pradhāna*, the head), an accountant, *Bhoi* (Sansk. *bhūmika*), and a watchman, *Dandoāsi* (Sansk. *danda-vāsika*, staff-holder).<sup>2</sup> Through these the revenue was collected and order maintained. A number of villages were grouped under an administrative subdivision, called generally *Bisi* (Sansk. *Viṣaya*) and a subdivisional head, *Bisoi* (Sansk. *Viṣayī*). This general name for the subdivision was sometimes changed to *Khanda* (tract), as in West Katak, Caura or Cāura (meaning probably a tract cleared), as in North Balasore and South Midnāpur, or *Bhūm* (land) as in West and North Midnāpur. The suffix *Muthā* of several parganās in east Midnāpur (Hijili) is not found either in the *Mādalā Pāñji* or in the *Aīn*, and is therefore more recent.

The next higher step in the fiscal arrangement was the *Dandapāta* (division). It consisted usually of a number of *Bisis*, *Khandas*, *Cauras*, etc. It covered generally a considerable tract of the country and corresponded to the Sanskrit *Bhūkti* used in Bengal and Mithilā. Occasionally a *Dandapāta* had no *Bisis*.

The country was essentially rural. The only town life traceable was in some sacred tirthas or in some headquarters of the king. The principal tirthas or places of pilgrimages usually formed head-quarters of the king when he toured over his territory. All these stations were called *Kataka*, a Sanskrit word meaning camp. In inscriptions we come across the following *Katakas*: *Purusottama*, *Kṛttivāsa*, *Vārānasi*, *Remunā*, *Rauhattā*, *Nārāyanapūra*, *Devakūta*. To these the *Mādalā Pāñji* adds *Āsikā*, *Khurdhā*, *Cauduāra*, *Jājapūra*.

At each *Kataka* the king had generally a masonry building for his residence. The most imposing of such edifices was at *Vārānasi* *Kataka*. This town appears to have been the capital of the later *Gangas* and their successors, and was kept by the Musalmans as their chief head-quarters in Orissa.

<sup>1</sup> This information is summarised in Sheristadar J. Grant's Analysis and Review of the Bengal Finances (1787), published as Appendix III to the *Fifth Parliamentary Report*, 1812. I quote from the Madras Reprint, 1883.

<sup>2</sup> A *Dandoāsi Ohora* (watchman's tax) is mentioned in an Oriyā inscription of the Jagannātha temple, J.A.S.B., 1893, p. 91.



The *Mādalā Pāñji* contains an interesting statement, attributed to the king Anangabhīmadeva, about the extent and the income of the Orissa kingdom. This may be literally translated thus :—

" In the times of the kings beginning with the Kesaris, up to me, the sixth ruler of the Gaṅga dynasty, the following revenue in the kingdom of Orissa was realised. The revenue was (then) realised from a kingdom that extended on the east from the arka kṣetra (Kaṇāraka) on the sea to Bhīmanagara Dandapāta on the west, from the Kāsabāsa river on the north to the R̥sikulyā river on the south. From this circle of lands the revenue realised was *jīti* gold fifteen lakh Mārhas. By the grace of the Lord Jagannātha, by the blessings of Brāhmans and through faith in god Viṣṇu, conquering with sword the Bhuyās and Purāṇas (elders), I have extended my kingdom, on the north from the Kāsabāsa to the river Danāi Burhā (Jan Perdo or the old Dāmodar), on the south from the R̥sikulyā to Rājamahendri Dandapāta, and on the west from Bhīmanagara to Sunupura on the borders of Boda. By conquering on the three sides I got an (additional) revenue of twenty lakhs Mārhas in *jīti* gold."

The ascription of this statement to Anangabhīmadeva is certainly apocryphal. In the *Mādalā Pāñji* several things which were done by his predecessors or successors were attributed to this king, e.g., the building of the temple of Jagannātha, the causing of a survey of the kingdom and so forth. But otherwise the statement contains a real geographical truth, as will be seen later on.

The *Mādalā Pāñji* supplies us with the names of 31 Dandapātas (including the Purnsottama Kṣetra as one) and of 110 Bisis.

In the *Aīn* Orissa was subdivided into five sarkārs and seventy-nine mahals. The arrangement of the *Aīn* calls for special attention on several points. Firstly, as remarked *supra*, the list of mahals is given at the very end of the Bengal table, and not alphabetically arranged with its sarkārs. Secondly, the sarkārs of Orissa, unlike those of Bengal, are arranged geographically from north to south, and not alphabetically. Thirdly, in the two southernmost sarkārs, Kalaṅga and Rājamahendra, no details of the mahals are forthcoming. The details were evidently not known, as these sarkārs had not come into the occupation at all of the Mughals or their predecessors, the Bengal Sultāns. Fifthly, the mahals named correspond closely with the Hindu Dandapātas where known. At the same time their grouping into sarkārs was unknown to the Hindus, being the work apparently of the Musalman Sultāns of Bengal. The Sarkār Katak which came last in the occupation of the Musalmans shows practically no change from the Hindu arrangement; while in the Sarkār Jalesar occur some Musalman varia-

tions of the mahal names, while some smaller subdivisions of the Daṇḍapāṭas were turned into separate mahals.

The ignorance of the fact that the mahals of the *Aīn* were a further development of the Hindu fiscal divisions, has now and then led to mistaken remarks, for example, by Beames. Furthermore, the want of knowledge of the old Hindu names has prevented a satisfactory checking of the names in the *Aīn*, whose manuscripts show a lamentably corrupt state of preservation in addition to the actual difficulty of transcribing the vernacular names correctly in the Persian. The names of the fiscal divisions have since then changed greatly, and as their knowledge is now more or less disappearing, the difficulty of their identification with modern divisions can be well imagined.

Before proceeding to identify the mahals, it is better to give here some account of the fiscal changes introduced by the Musalmans. Orisā was one of the provinces conquered very late by the Musalmans. The northern part up to the Cilkā Lake was conquered by the army of the Bengal Sultān Sulaimān Karārāni in 1568-9 A.D. The southern part was invaded and the greater portion of it occupied by the forces of the Golkondā Sultān, Ibrāhim Kutb Shāh, in 1571 A.D. By the time of compiling the *Aīn* the Musalmans had thus been in possession for only a quarter of a century, and that possession, too, was very much disturbed and partial owing to the continual fights between the Afghāns and Mughals. The Musalmans had thus little time and less leisure to make radical changes, a fact that explains the general retention of the old Hindu subdivisions, both in name and in extent.

The next important change in Todar Mal's rent-roll was made seventy years later, during the second viceroyalty of the Prince Shāh Sujah (1646-58 A.D.). Orisā which had been administered by a separate governor, generally appointed direct from Delhi, had been then added to the prince's viceroyalty of Bengal. In his time Orisā was rearranged into three groups of four sarkārs each, or twelve sarkārs and 276 mahals (Grant, p. 527). Of these the northernmost six sarkārs were dismembered from Orissa and annexed to Bengal. The main reason for this change was said to be to protect the growing port of Balasore and its sea-coast against the ravages of the Arracanese (G., p. 246).

The next great change was introduced in the 'perfect' rent-roll of Murshid Kuli Khān (1722 A.D.). He changed the general name, mahal, into parganā, and for the khālsa portion added an administrative division higher than sarkārs, the eaklās. The northern sarkārs which had been annexed to Bengal in the time of Shāh Sujah were placed under two eaklās, Bandar Balasore (17 parganās), and Hijli (35 parganās) besides the zamindari of Tamluk (G., p. 253).



In 1728 was prepared the corrected rent-roll of Nawab Suja-ud-daulah. The southern half of the dismembered portion with the port of Balasore was re-added to Orissa for administrative purposes, but kept in Bengal for revenue purposes (Nos. 20 and 23, G., p. 265).

In 1751 A.D. the Bengal Sultān Ālivardi Khān tired of fighting with the Marāthās ceded to them Orisā up to the Subarnarekhā river, with Parganā Patāspūr beyond the river. In the ceded portion of Bengal 12 parganās besides Patāspur were included. In the early British accounts the Caklā Midnā-pūr did not include Hijli, Tamluk, Rāipore, Bogri and Soohent. It was divided into four sarkārs and 54 mahals (G., pp. 532-3, year 1777-78 A.D.).

### I. Sarkār Rājmahindra.

This is Rājamahendri Dandapāta of the Temple chronicles. No details of its 126 mahals are given. Both inscriptions and Musalman histories show that during the prosperous rule of the Gaṅga and the Sūrya dynasties the kingdom of Orissa extended south of the Godāvarī river up to at least Ellore on Colair lake. Purusottamadeva of the Sūryavamśa (1469-96 A.D.) ceded Kondapalli and Rājamahendri to the Bahmani Sultan Muhammād Shāh II for his help in securing the throne of Orissa. But the loss was temporary and he had recovered Rājamahendri before 1488-89 A.D.

The headquarters of this division was Rājamahendri, a town on the north bank of the Godāvarī. In 1510 A.D. it was visited by Caitanya, the Vaiṣṇava preacher of Bengal, in the course of his pilgrimage to the south. The accounts of the pilgrimage mention that Rāmānanda Rāya was then the Oriyā governor of Rājamahendri on behalf of the king Pratāparudradeva.

During the dissensions brought about by the death of the last independent Hindu king of Orissa, Telīngā Makunda Haricandanadeva, in 1571 A.D., the army of Ibrahim Kutb Shah overran the east coast up to Chicacole. But the Musalman occupation of the Rājamahendri division remained more or less precarious until the time of Asaf Jah Nizam-ul Mulk, the first Nizam of Hyderabad.

His army in the first quarter of the eighteenth century brought the whole of the east coast under fair subjection. His Government had two headquarters therein, one at Rājamahendri and the other at Chicacole. In 1753 A.D. the northern sarkārs passed into the hands of the French from whom they were conquered in 1759 A.D. by the Bengal army of the East India Company under Colonel Forde.

The Dandapāta corresponds to the present district of Godāvarī plus the southern part of Vizagapatam district.



## II. Sarkār Kalang Dāndapāṭa.

It is the only place in the *Aīn* where Dāndapāṭa, the Hindu word for the older higher divisions, has slipt in. It had 27 mahals, but no details thereof are given. Kaliṅga Dāndapāṭa is mentioned in the temple chronicles, but without any Bisis.

Kaliṅga is one of the oldest names recorded in Indian history and is mentioned in Asoka's inscriptions. It is not my intention to trace here its old history. Its mediæval history has been briefly narrated in the account under Rājamahendri.

Its headquarters appears to have been shifted from time to time. During the early Gaṅga rule the capital was at Mukhaliṅgam, modern Nagarikatāka, on the upper reach of the Vāṁśadhara river. Later it appears to have been shifted to Śrī-kūrmam on the sea-coast, where the main temple is covered with inscriptions recording grants of the Gaṅga kings. The road to Kāncī (modern Conjeveram) passed by this town, and its temple was visited by Caitanya in 1510 A.D.

During Musalman occupation the headquarters was changed to Chicacole, 8 miles west, on the north bank of the Lānguliya river. Its Musalman occupation is shown by several mosques, of which the oldest existing goes back to 1030 H. (1620 A.D.), and the next oldest, the Jummā Masjid, to 1055 H. (1644 A.D.).

Kaliṅga Dāndapāṭa was bounded on the north by the Rśikulyā river and extended southwards probably as far as Vizagapatam, thereby including the notable tīrtha Simhācalam. It would thus comprise the greater part of modern Gañjām and the northern part of Vizagapatam district.

## III. Sarkār Kaṭak.

This sarkār covered a very large area, and was assessed with the highest revenue in Bengal, 91,432,730 dāms, or at the rate of 40 dāms per Ilahi Rupee, Rs. 22,85,818 $\frac{1}{2}$ . It lay approximately between the Baitaraṇi river on the north and the Rśikulyā river on the south, with the sea on the east, and the ill-defined Garjāt state of Bod on the west. It comprised thus almost the whole of Katak district, the whole of Puri district, the northern part of Gañjām district, and several Garjāt states on either bank of the Mahānadi river, such as Āthagāra, Tigiriā, Barambā, Khandaparā, Narsingapura, Daspallā, Dhenkānāla, Bod, besides Ranapura and Nayāgaṛa further south.

The heading of the *Aīn* gives 21 mahals, but the details below supply only 20 names. The mahal omitted in the text was probably Lembāi Dāndapāṭa: see *infra*. There is not a single Mahomedan name in the mahals, a fact due to its very recent conquest by the Mahomedans and to its imperfect pos.



session on account of the continuous fight between the Afghāns and the Mughals for the possession of Bengal. By the treaty of peace concluded between the Mughal viceroy Munim Khān and the Afghan chief Dāud at Katak town on 12th April, 1575 A.D., Sarkār Katak was left to Dāud. After that the Mughals never came to this sarkār until Mānasimha reconquered Orissa in 1000 H. (1592 A.D.). So Katak could have been known to the Mughals mostly by hearsay, and was only nominally subject to the emperor at the time of the compilation of the *Aīn*.

I now pass on to identify the mahals.<sup>1</sup> They are arranged in the *Aīn* according to Persian alphabet.

(1) *Āl*. The Āli Dandapāta of the Temple chronicles, of which no Bisis are named. It has survived in modern times as Killā Āli, a parganā in the Kendrāparā subdivision of Katak district, lying between the Kharsuā on the north and the Brāhmani on the south. From the large revenue assessed (Rs. 1,60,728 $\frac{1}{2}$ ) the eastern sea-board of Kanikā would seem to have been attached to it at the time.

The present zamindar of the killah is a lineal descendant of Mukunda Haricandanadeva, the last Hindu king of Orissa. On the reconquest of Orissa, Mānasimha recognised three chiefs in the Mughalbandi, Rāmchandradeva in Killah Khurdā, and the two sons of Mukunda in Killahs Āli and Patiyā. These two sons are probably Adwand and Sundar, zamindars of Orisā, whose names appear in the list of *Aīn*'s grandees as Mansabdars of 200 (Nos. 413 and 414).<sup>2</sup> From some Persian documents Stirling got the information that the Rājā of Āl had the rank of 500 with 24 zamindaris and 42 killahs under him.

(2) *Asakah*. The Asikā Dandapāta of the T. chronicles. The mahal has survived in a zamindari and in a town of that name on the north bank of the Rsikulyā river, in Gañjām district. The temple of Gokarneśvara in Mahendra-māla (the Mahendra hills) lay in this division. The Dandapāta spread therefore from the Mahendra hills on the west to the sea on the east, and from the Rsikulyā on the south to the Cilkā Lake on the north. Drained by the Rsikulyā the land must have been fairly fertile, as the revenue of Rs. 79,009 $\frac{1}{2}$  indicates. The quota of men, 15,000 infantry, indicates that a considerable hilly tract of the west with its militia of pāiks was included. Askā town, 25 miles N.-N.-W. of Berhampur, is noted at present for the manufacture of sugar and rum.

<sup>1</sup> In making the various identifications I have drawn largely from the notes taken by me during my service in Orissa for thirteen years (1886-97 and 1902-3). Mr. J. Beames' *Notes on Akbari Soubabs No. II: Orissa*, in J.R.A.S., 1894, pp. 743-764, are, on account of his personal knowledge of Orissa, useful. Dr. R. Mittra's footnotes on this sarkār in the *Antiquities of Orissa*, vol. I, p. 2, are unsatisfactory.

<sup>2</sup> Blochmann, *Aīn-i Akbari*, vol. I, p. 526.

(3) *Athgarh*, with a fort. The Āthagara Dandapāṭa of the T. chronicles which give the names of two Bisis, Jethasinghā and Airātāṭa. Kakharī (opposite Kāṭak town) and Baidyeswara (in Bānki) were in the former Bisi. The Dandapāṭa thus included not only the present tributary state of Āthagara, but also Bānki and Domeparah of Kāṭak district, with the adjoining tributary state of Tigiriā. In spite of the wild rugged nature of the country, the mahal had a revenue of Rs. 29,634 $\frac{1}{2}$ , in addition to a quota of 200 cavalry and 7000 infantry, and so must have covered a considerable area. The name is derived from *asta* = eight + *gara* = forts. Only one fort is mentioned in the *Aīn*, probably the one near Kakharī, on the other side of the Mahānādī river. This one must have been best known to the Musalmans from its proximity to Kāṭak town.

(4) *Pūrab Dīkh*, with four forts. Kanikā, Kujang, Harishpūr and Mirichpur (Beames). An erroneous suggestion. It is the Pūrbadīga Dandapāṭa of the T. chronicles, which included a southern section separately named therein, Bārabisi Dandapāṭa. The former is said to have contained twenty-one Bisis and the latter twelve, but the names of fifteen and seven Bisis only can be traced. They are noted below, alphabetically arranged according to Oriyā letters :—

Pūrbadīga Dandapāṭa (15)—Asureśvara, Kusamandala, Caudakulāṭa, Dāhaṅga, Derābisi, Tikoṇa, Pa-idā, Paenā, Bāli, Birumolo, Brahmabayaṅgī, Moharā, Yadisāhi, Sarasvatī, Sukhana-i.

Bārabisi Dandapāṭa (7)—Āpilā, Kaluṇiyā, Khanḍi, Gaṇḍito, Tirana, Benāhāra, Yakhemra.

Of the first group all except Nos. 4, 11 and 12 survive still as parganās, some in a rather altered form, such as Bālūbisi for Bāli, Karimuṛja for Birumolo. In the second group all but No. 2 can be traced. The last one, Yakhemra, is the old name for modern Parganā Jhaṅkāra, and appears as such in the *Bhārata* of Sārola Dāsa<sup>1</sup> composed during the reign of Pratāparudradeva (1496-1540 A.D.).

From the present position of these parganās, Pūrbadīga lay entirely on the east side of Kāṭak district. It lay enclosed between the Brāhmaṇī river on the north, and the main branch of the Mahānādī on the south, having its apex at the bifurcation of the Mahānādī and its branch Birūpā, and thence spreading eastward fanlike until the saliferous tract on the coast is touched.

The Bārabisi Dandapāṭa lay south of Pūrbadīga, between the main branch of the Mahānādī on the north, and its Devī branch on the south. It was separated from the Kodindā Dandapāṭa on the west by a wedge of the northern part

<sup>1</sup> J.A.S.B. 1898, p. 346, *Jakhērapūra-vāseni Hiṅgulā Caṇḍī Sārolo*, or (the goddess) Hingulā Caṇḍī, resident at Jakhemra-pūrā.

of Dakhinadiga Dāndapāṭa, and from the sea by the saliferous tract of Kujaṅga and Hariṣapura.

Some of the Bisis are pretty old. Lands were granted in Derā-visaya and Svāṅga-visaya (Bisis of Pūrbadiga) by a copperplate grant dated 6th August, 1296 A.D., under orders of the Gaṅga king Narasimhadeva II.<sup>1</sup>

A good many names of the above Bisis can be derived, and therefore could not have been very old. For example, take *Asureśvara* or Lord of the Asuras, the name of a Śiva; *Kuṣa* = grass + *mandala* = circle; *cauda* = fourteen + *killāta* = forts; *Derā* = a caste + *Visaya* = a division; *ti* = three + *kona* = angle; *payas* = milk + *dā* = giver; *bāli* — sand; *Birhi* = a kind of pulse + *mūla* = source; *Brahma* = the name of a god + *bayālisi* = forty-two (villages); *Yadi* = an aboriginal tribe + *sāhi* = quarter; *Sarasvatī* = the name of a holy stream; *sukha* = pleasant + *na-i* = river; *Khandī* = tract; *benā* = grass + *hāra* = removal. In fact the very names indicate that cultivation progressed eastwards with increase in pasturage and reclamation of wastes and sandy tracts.

The mahal covered a very large tract, and had the largest revenue payable in whole Bengal, Rs. 5,72,039 $\frac{1}{2}$ .

(5) *Pachchham Dīkh*. This included kilās Darpan, Madhupur, Balrāmpūr and Chausathpāra between the Brahmani and Mahānadi, and probably also Dompāṛā and Patiā, south of the latter river (Beames). Another erroneous remark. It is really the Pacchimadiga Dandapāṭa of the Temple chronicles, subdivided into thirteen Bisis, of which eight have been named, viz. Alti, Katarkuā, Kinalakhanda, Kulākhanda, Koroārakhanda, Khandilokhanda, Tapanakhanda, Dharmupūra. Of these Nos. 1, 5 and 7 still exist as parganās in West Katak. Dharmupūra included the present killah of Darpanā, as the Mahāvināyaka temple of Barunāi is said to have been in it. In this Dāndapāṭa the substitution of the suffix *khanda* for Bisi is worth noticing.

From the parganās still existing taken with the special use of the term *khanda*, the position of this mahal can be roughly traced. It spread above the Birūpā branch of the Mahānādī north-east towards the Brāhmaṇī river which formed the northern boundary while that on the west was ill-defined, but probably extended up to the Brāhmaṇī river in the Dhenūkānāl tributary state. The tract was mostly on laterite soil covered with jungles and scrub woods. Hence though the money revenue was small, Rs. 16,562 $\frac{1}{2}$  only, the quota of men were considerable, 100 cavalry and 50,000 infantry. This infantry can only be the local militia of pāiks, in which every able-bodied man was counted as a soldier.

The old Pādshāhi road passed through this mahal. Todar

<sup>1</sup> J.A.S.B. 1896, p. 255, *Derā-visaya-madhy-āśinam Edara.grāmam,*  
*Svāṅga-visaya-madhy-āśinam sunāilo-grāma.*

Mal in his pursuit of Dāūd forwards Katak reached Kalkal-ghāti where he halted for some time. This would be somewhere near modern Chatiā on the Jagannātha road, up to which apparently extended the killah of Kalkallā, though it is now restricted to the south-west corner of Darpanagara. Chatiā was in old days a place of some importance. In the tour of the kings, Chatiā was the next halting station north of Cauduāra, being only 13 miles therefrom by road. Here are the remains of an old fort with Hindu remains.

(6) *Bahār.* All the extensive tract of country now known as the tributary mahals (Beames). Not correct, as a number of the tributary states were included in other mahals. This is probably the Āhāra Dandapāta of the T. chronicles, which by upcountry people would be uttered *vāhār*. Of this two Bisis are named, Olāsmi and Āhāra. The former has survived as Olāsa in subdivision Jājapura District Katak. This parganā lies between the bifurcation of the Brāhmaṇi river and its branch the Kharsuā. At present it is flooded very much by these two rivers. But to judge from the large revenue assessed, Rs. 1,28,245 $\frac{1}{2}$ , the mahal must have been in the old days very fertile and much larger, extending eastwards probably up to Āli.

(7) *Basāī Diwārmār, B. Diwarpūr, B. Diwarbār, B. Diwarnā, or B. Pūrbā, Bāsudebpur Ārang,* 14 miles north-east of Bhadrakh (Beames). This identification is not acceptable as it would take Sarkār Katak too far north, 30 to 40 miles beyond the Baitaranī river, the real north boundary of the sarkār. At the same time the second part of the name appears so corrupt that no correct identification is possible.

(8) *Barang*, with nine forts among the hills and jungles. No place of this name known, but it should be identified with the celebrated fortress of Sārang Gar, four miles south-west of Katak city (Beames). This is really the Paraṅga Dandapāta of the Temple chronicles. It had six Bisis, of which three are named Atiri, Paraṅga, Sabhari. Paraṅga means in Oriyā upland and is thus applicable clearly to the highlands of modern Khurdhā. Atiri has survived in the modern Atiri Gara, seven miles west of Khurdhā town. Sabhari refers evidently to the Savaras, an aboriginal tribe that still survives in Khurdhā subdivision. The Dandapata Paraṅga corresponds therefore to the northern part of this subdivision, and included the important town of Bhuvaneswara, famous for its numerous temples and for the neighbouring Jaina caves of Khandagiri hills.

This mahal of the Aīn apparently included another Dandapāta, named Kandhrā or Kondhrā in the T. chronicles. Bānapura and Rāmeśvara Gaṛa were in this division, which therefore comprised the southern Khurdhā (south of Munāguni river) with part of the adjoining Ranapura tributary state.

Khurdhā subdivision is studded with many garas or small forts, and the more important of these are, of course, referred to

in the *Aīn* by "nine forts among the hills and jungles." The country was wild and hilly, and must have covered a large tract to be assessed with such a considerable revenue as Rs. 53,323 $\frac{1}{2}$ . The zamindars are said to have been by caste Ahirs, in *Orīyā Gaura*. From the wide pasturage available on the laterite table-lands of Khurdhā and Ranapura, the prevalence of the Gaura caste is not unlikely. A poet from Ranapura T. state, by name Acyutānanda Dāsa, calls himself a Gaura.<sup>1</sup>

(9) *Bhījnagar* with a fort. Bhanjnagar or Gumsur in Ganjam District, some 20 miles north of Askā (Beames). It is really the Bhīmanagara Dandapāṭa of the T. chronicles. This according to Anāngabhīmadeva's statement lay on the westernmost border of the former kingdom of Orissa, and in his time lay east of Bod. Its position was therefore between the tributary state of Bod and that of Bāṅki-Āthagara, and comprised evidently the intervening tributary states of Daspallā, Nayāgara, Khandaparā, Narsīngpuṛa, Bārambā, and possibly Āṅgul and Hindol. That the mahal covered a large tract of these wild rugged lands is clear from its small revenue of Rs. 21,509 $\frac{1}{2}$  and its large quota of men, 50 cavalry and 22,000 infantry. The zamindar was a Teliṅghā, probably a collecting officer of Government placed in charge of a number of these small tributary states.

(10) *Banjū*, *Banjūd*, or *Banhū*. Bāñchās in Central Puri (Beames). More probably it is Bhañja, the title assumed by several chiefs of tributary states. That the mahal should refer to the wild tract of tributary states is clear from the note that the zamindar was a Rajput, and in addition to a small revenue of Rs. 21,655, had to furnish a large quota of men, 100 cavalry and 20,000 infantry. By calling the chief a Rajput, the mahal should, I think, be identified with the Bod tributary state which is expressly mentioned in the chronicles as lying on the westernmost border of Orissa, and which included at the time probably parts of Daspallā, Gumsur and Āṅgul. It could not have been applied to Mayurabhañja, whose position adjoins Jaleśar Sarkār and was thus far off from Katak Sarkār. The Bod chiefs actually claim to have been descended from a Rājput relation of the Jaypur Rāj in Rājputānā.

(11) *Parsotam*, detailed in each sarkār. This refers, of course, to the *desa khañjā* of the T. chronicles, describing the numerous land grants to the god Puruṣottama of Puri town, the lands being taken from various Bisis of Orissa.

(12) *Chaubīskot* with four forts. The Caubīsakuda Dandapāṭa of the T. chronicles, of which only one Bisi is named, Rāetirana. Mānikapatnā and Mālud are said to be in this Dandapāṭa. It included therefore not only the present pargānā

<sup>1</sup> J.A.S.B., 1898, p. 349. *Gaura-kulare mu bolāi Mahata*, or among the Gauras I am called Mahata or head.

of Caubisakuda, lying between Puri town and the Cilkā lake, but also the sandy strip separating the Cilkā lake from the sea. The name is derived from *caubisa* = twenty-four + *kuda*—heaps (rising above water).

The four forts were probably Killahs Andhāri, Pārikuda, Mālud and Bajrakot, all found in the sandy strip. There must have been other killahs, for the quota of men to be furnished (500 cavalry and 20,000 infantry) approach the tenure of Garjāt states.

(13) *Jash* or *Habsh*, *urī Tājpur* with a fort. Amisprint for Jajpur, the ancient, celebrated and sacred city on the Baitarni (Beames). No Dandapāta or Bisi by name Jājapur can be traced in the *Mādalā Pāñji*. But I see no reasons to doubt Beames' identification. The mahal had a considerable revenue, Rs. 59,974½, and included not only the present parganā of Jājapura, but also Parganās Tisāniā and Dolagrāma. It was thus bounded on the north by the Baitarani, on the west and the east by the Burhā branch and an old branch of the Baitarani, and on the south by the Kharsuā branch of the Brāhmani river. In the subsequent rent-roll of the Prince Shāh Shujah, Jājapur was formed into a separate sarkār with five mehals.

The fort at Jājapura now lies in ruins at Gara Solampura. This village is situated opposite Jājapura town on the left bank of the Baitarani, and thus lie within the jurisdiction of Thānā Dhāmanagara, Subdivision Bhadraka, District Balasore. According to traditions it was built by the king Kapilendra deva of the Sūrya dynasty (1434-1469 A.D.). Traditions speak also of an older fort near the temple of Birajā, two miles south of the Baitarani river. The name of this place Nahara-padā signifies "the land of the palace."

(14) *Dakhan Dikh*, with four forts. The four forts of the southern region, Pārikūd, Mālūd, Bajrakot and Andhāri (Beames). A mistake, for they lie in Caubisakuda (see No. 12). It is really the Dakhinadiga Daṇḍapāta of the T. chronicles. Of this no less than seventeen Bisīs are named, viz., Athāisa, Antarodha, Oldhāra, Kāte, Kurulo, Kudāhāra, Kotarahāṅga, Kodhāra, Damārakhanda, Degā, Pacchimaduāi, Pubbaduāi, Bācāsa, Marada, Rāhāṅga, Sāibiri and Sāilo.

Except No. 6 all these still exist as parganās, Marada being the older name of Hariharapura. Kāte, Degā, Marada, Sāibiri and Sāilo are in south-east Kātak, and the rest are in eastern Puri district. The mahal thus covered an extensive area, spreading north-east from Puri town along its east coast, and then crossing the river Devī into Kātak district where its Bisīs thrust themselves between the Bārabisi Dandapāta on the east and the Kodindā Dandapāta on the west. The largeness of its area is shown clearly not only by the number of its Bisīs, but also by its revenue, Rs. 5,51,644½, with its quota of men, cavalry 180 and infantry 13,060.

The Dakhinadiga Dandapāṭa with Antarodha and Bāīcāsa Bisis is named in Oriyā inscriptions on the jamb of the porch of the Jagannātha temple<sup>1</sup>; while Marada is named in a Sanskrit copperplate inscription of the ninth year of Mahāśivagupta.<sup>2</sup>

This Bisis named can be mostly derived. For example *Athāisa*, containing the famous sun temple at Kanāraka, means twenty-eight (villages or Śāsanās); *Antarodha* = obstruction; *Ola* = a name + *dhāra* = bank or stream; *Kāte* = cut; *Kuda* = heap + *hāra* = removal; *Kota* = own + *Rāhāṅga* = a Bisi name; *Ko* = a name + *dhāra* = stream; *Domara* = of Doma caste + *Khanda* = tract; *Deo* = god's + *gā* = village; *Pacchima* = western + *duhāī* = heap; *Pubba* = eastern + *duhai* = heap; *Bana* = woods + *cāsa* = cultivation. Some of the Bisis are evidently connected with one another, thus *Rāhāṅga* and *Kotarāhāṅga*, *Paechimaduhāī* and *Pubbaduhāī*; *Oldhāra* and *Kodhāra*.

(15) *Sirān*. The Sirāi Dandapāṭa of the T. chronicles, where four of its Bisis are named, Āru, Kabara, Talitara, Sirāi. It had the smallest revenue in the sarkār (Rs. 5,195). It has survived to modern days, as a parganā lying north-west of the Cilkā lake and west of the Dayā branch. Even now it is an infertile tract, the northern part being liable to be flooded, and the southern part bordering on the Cilkā barren and saliferous.

(16) *Shergarh*. The Sargarā Dandapāṭa of the T. chronicles. No Bisis are named. Tārākote is said to be in it. It is thus identifiable with the modern parganā of the same name, lying in the north-west of Jājapur subdivision, District Kāṭak. The name is made up of *saara*—the Savara tribe and *Gara*—fort.

(17) *Kotdes*, with three forts. The Kothadesa Dandapāṭa of the T. chronicles, of which two Bisis are named, Oromalo and Koromalo. According to a copperplate grant of the king Narasimhadeva IV,<sup>3</sup> Kothadesa was divided into eight khandas, of which two are named in the inscription, the Uttara-Khanda of Kalabho, and Oramola Madana khanda. Oramolo is evidently the same as Oromalo of the T. chronicles. Kothadesa still exists as a parganā in Central Puri, lying along the both banks of the Kusabhadrā branch. The name is derived from *Koṣṭha* = own + *deśa* = lands.

The original fort is said in the *Aīn* to be a *kasbah* (town) or *kusaibah* (small town), meaning that the town itself was fortified.

<sup>1</sup> J.A.S.B., 1893, p. 91, *Purusottamadeva-Mahārājāṅkara dat-Dakṣina-diga-Dandapāṭe, Antarodha-Vise Mādhotila-grāmā, Dakṣinadiga-Dandapāṭe Bāīcāsa-Bise Gopapura-grāma*.

<sup>2</sup> Ep. Ind., vol. III, p. 32, *Dakṣi(na)-Tosalāyām Marada-Visayiya-Cānda-grāme*. Fleet corrects the first word to *Dakṣina-Kosalāyām* (see note 11); but this is unnecessary as Tosāli was the name of a tract in South Orissa :—*vide* Asoka's rock inscription of Dhāuli.

<sup>3</sup> J.A.S.B., 1895, p. 152, *Atha-khanda-Koṣṭhadeśa Madanakhanda-Visaye, Oramolo-Madanakhanya-madhye*, and p. 149, *Kalabhorā Utara-khanda-madhye*.

(18) *Haveli Katak Banāras*, with a fort and a masonry palace within. This refers, of course, to the city of Katak with its suburbs. The mahal is represented in the T. chronicles by Kodindā Dandapāṭa, and comprised the modern parganās of Kodindā, Bākhrābād and Patiyā. Bākhrābād is the *ābād* or clearance of Bākhīr Khān, who was governor of Orissa towards the end of Jahangir's rule, and in the beginning of Shahjehan's. This mahal was bounded on the north by the main branch of the Mahānadi and on the south and west by the hilly jungles of Domaparāgara and Khurdhā. The tract was not large, and being too much liable to floods did not yield much direct revenue (Rs. 15,140 only).

The mahal is, of course, noteworthy for its containing the capital of Orissa. In the inscriptions, the Temple chronicles and the older Musalman records<sup>1</sup> the name of the capital appears as Vārāṇasi Kataka or Katak Banāras (Musalman), Vārāṇasi being usually pronounced Banāras by upcountry people. The name still survives in Birāṇāsi, a small quarter of the city along the Kāthajori branch, a little below its bifurcation from the main river Mahānadi, and two miles west of the fort. The double-worded name was apparently found cumbrous, and so it was reduced to simply Kataka, a form found not only in the *Aīn* but also in the older Vaiśnavite works like the *Caitanya-bhāgavata*. At present the second part of the name has been entirely forgotten.

The city has been described briefly in the *Aīn*. But Jarrett's translation evidently requires correction in two places. Firstly, "this city has a stone fort situated at the bifurcation of the two rivers." This is misleading. It is not the fort, but it is the city which is so situated. Secondly, "Rajah Makand Deo built a palace here nine stories in height; the first storey was taken up for the elephants and the stables; the second was occupied by the artillery and the guards and quarters for attendants"; and so on. A nine-storied building, if not entirely impossible in those days, is *prima facie* incredible. From William Bruton's description of Katak city and palace in 1632 A.D. (O.S.) it is clear that the translation for *ashinah* should be not storey but quarters.<sup>2</sup> A similar description of various

<sup>1</sup> For the mention of Vārāṇasi kataka in Sanskrit inscriptions, see J.A.S.B., 1895, p. 149, *Ravi-vāre Vārāṇasi-katake*; and p. 151 *Maṅgala-vāre Vārāṇasi-katake*; in Uriyā inscriptions, see J.A.S.B., 1893, p. 100, *Bārāṇasi-katake*, *Śrīnaara-Gopālapriya-jagatīra daksina-merhare*. Vārāṇasi Katak was first mentioned in Musalman accounts in connection with Sultan Firoz Shāh's invasion of Jājnagar in 761 H. (1360 A.D.). Firoz reached this Banāras, the capital of Jājnagar-Udisah, after having crossed the river Mahā-nadī; see the *Tārikh-i Firoz Shāhi* of Shams-i Sirāj Afif (Elliot, III, pp. 313-5, and a summary thereof in Raverty's footnote to pages 591-2 of his translation of the *Tabakāt-i Nāṣiri*).

<sup>2</sup> For a description of Katak town in 1632 A.D. (O.S.), see William

quarters before entering the main building of the courtesan Vasantasenā is given in the Sanskrit drama *Mṛccha-katikā*. The present temple of Śrīraṅgam has similarly seven quarters, one separate from the other by high wall, before entering the sacred precincts of the god.

In the time of the *Aīn* the palace in the fort was the residence of the governor. But by the time of Bruton the Musalman governor had removed his residence to the bank of the Kāthajorī, which part came therefore to be known as Lālbāgh. The town was divided into several quarters, which were called sāhis in Hindu time, but generally bāzars in Musulman time. Besides Birānāsi, the oldest part of the town, is, of course, the fort named Bāra-bāti from its covering an area of twelve Bātis of land.

(19) *Khatrah*, *Khadah*, or *Khazah*, with a fortress. The khetra or the sacred area round the city of Puri (Beames). The Puruṣottama Ksettra of the T. chronicles whose *luna pentha* or store of salt is mentioned. The *Ksettra* or sacred area is generally taken to be *pañca-kosi* or five-kossed in extent.

The sacred city was at the time of the *Aīn* under the charge of Rāmacandradeva, the Rājā of Khurdhā. The city had been plundered by the Afghans just a little before and had been saved from further pillage by Mānasimha in 1593 A.D. In the *Aīn* Rājā Rāmchandra, Zamindar of Orīsā, appears as a Mansabdār of 500 (No. 250). From some undescribed Persian manuscripts Stirling however gives him a rank of 3,500. According to a version in the *Mādalā Pāñji*, Rāmcandradeva was a son of the king Danei Vidyādhara, belonging to the Bhoi dynasty.

The fortress in Puri town refers to the fortified palace of the Oriyā kings where they halted when they visited the temple. This palace was probably situated in Bāli Sāhi near the old *nahara* or palace of the Khurdhā kings.

(20) *Mānakpatan*. Mānikapatnā in the sandy strip between the Cilkā lake and the sea. The mahal was purely of salt taxes, the village itself being in Caubiskuda Dandapāṭa (No. 12). The salt revenue is estimated roundly at six lakh dāms or Rs. 15,000. The Cilkā lake was a great centre of the manufacture of the salt known as *karkac*. This manufacture was stopped by Government towards the end of the last century.

(21) The heading gives 21 mahals in Sarkār Katak. But the twenty-first is omitted in the detailed list. I think the omitted mahal was the Lembāi Dandapāṭa of the Temple chronicles. No Bisi of it is mentioned therein, but the villages Delāṅga and Kāluparā lay within it. Hence it is identifiable with the modern Parganā of Lembāi, in Central Puri, separated

from the Khurdhā subdivision by the branch Dayā. A considerable number of land grants to the god Jagannāthā lay in this Dāndapāṭa.

#### IV. Sarkār Bhadrak.

A small division consisting of seven mahals only, but with a considerable revenue, Rs. 4,67,179 $\frac{1}{4}$ . It consisted part of northern Kāṭak (Baruā and Kāimā) and the greater part of present Bhadrak subdivision. Excluding Baruā the sarkār lay between the Baitaraṇī (in its old course) on the south, the Kāsabā̄sa on the north, between the sea on the east, and the Nilgiri hills and south-east Keuñjhara tributary state on the west.

The higher grouping into sarkār did not exist in Hindu time, but was formed during the occupation of the Afghāns. When the treaty between the Afghān Sultān Dāūd and the Mughal generals Munim Khān and Todar Mal was signed at Kāṭak on 12th April, 1575 A.D., sarkār Kāṭak was left with Dāūd, while sarkārs Bhadrak and Jalesar passed to the Mughals. Nazar Bahādur was the first Mughal governor of Bhadrak. When Munim Khān died of epidemic at Gaur in the following rains, Dāūd attacked Nazar Bahādur and killed him. The whole of Orissa then passed into the hands of Afghāns, and remained in their possession until reconquered by Mānasimha in 1593 A.D. In the 45th year (1599-1600 A.D.) during the absence of Mānasimha the Afghāns under Usmān revolted, defeated the Imperialists near Bhadrak, and repossessed Orisā. Mānasimha hurried back, defeated the Afghāns in a great battle at Sherpur Atāi in Murshidabad and recovered Orisā and Western Bengal.

(1) *Barwa* with two fortresses, Bānak and Raskoi. A parganā lying between the Brāhmaṇī and the Kharsuā rivers in north Kāṭak (Beames). Not mentioned in the Temple chronicles. Probably formed in Mahomedan time on account of its importance, the Pādshāhi road passing through it. The mahal had a fairly large revenue of Rs. 81,000 and therefore comprised not only the present parganā of Baruā, but also Jodh. It would have been thus bounded on the east by the Burhā branch of the Baitaraṇī with the Kharsuā, and on the south by the Brāhmaṇī. At present these parganās are subject to much floods. But in the older days when the Kharsuā was not so destructive, the land must have been very fertile. In Prince Shāh Sujah's rent-roll Barwa was raised into a sarkār with nine mahals and added to Kāṭak group.

The two forts at Bānak and Raskoi lay apparently on the Pādshāhi road. The first may be Bānka-sāhi as identified by Beames; but his identification of the second with the insignificant village of Rispur on the Kharsuā is open to doubts.

(2) *Jaukajri*. Jogjuri village on the southern slope of

Nilgiri hills (Beames). A very small mahal with a revenue of Rs. 1,428 $\frac{1}{2}$  only.

(3) *Haveli Bhadrak* with a fort at Dhāmnagar. The Bhadrekha Dandapāṭa of the T. chronicles. Of this the following five Bisis are named, viz. Āmkorā, Uriparā, Dhāmanagara, Rāede, Sonātiri. Nos. 1 and 3 still survive as parganās in Balasore district, while Sonātiri is probably Senaot. Ahiyāsa is mentioned to be in this Dandapāṭa. It is clear therefore that the old Baitarani, instead of going east as at present, turned south-east near Siddheswar village and flowed into the Kharsuā branch of the Brahmini above Jari. This old course thus formed the south-western boundary of this mahal, separating it from Jājapur Mahal on the west. The Haveli extended on the east up to the sea and on the north up to the Matāi river. It had a high revenue of Rs. 2,38,569. In Shāh Sujah's rent-roll Bhadrak continued to be a sarkār with 19 mahals, belonging to Balasore group.

The governor of the sarkār resided at Dhāmanagara, which, as Beames pointed out, has still a number of Musalman residents. The old Pādshāhi road passed from Bhadrak due south to Dhāmanagara and thence south-west to Jājapura. Hence in 1575 A.D., when Dāūd invaded the Mughal territory, his first attack fell on the governor at Dhāmanagara.

(4) *Sahansū* with two forts. Sohso parganā, fifteen miles west of Bhadrak (Beames). The Soso Dandapāṭa of the T. chronicles. Three Bisis of it are named, Caudabisi, Purusandā, Hethāba-i. No. 2 still survives as a Tappā and Soso itself as a parganā, both in Thānās Bhadrak and Soro of Balasore district. The mahal must have been a fertile one, to be assessed with a revenue of Rs. 87,857. It lay between the Sālindi on the south and the Kāsabāsa on the north.

(5) *Kāimān*, with a fort. Now divided into three parganās, Kāimā, Kismat Kāimā and Killā Kāimā, lying on both sides of the Baitarani (Beames). The Kāemā Dandapāṭa of the T. chronicles, no Bisis of which are named. In modern time Parganā Kāemā lies in Thānās Dhāmanagara and Cāndabāli of Bhadrak subdivision; Kismat Kāemā in Thānā Ahiyāsa of Jājapura subdivision and Thānā Cāndabāli of Bhadrak; and Killā Kāemā in thānā Āli of Kendrāparā subdivision. The mahal therefore lay on both sides of the modern Baitarani; but as already pointed out, the present stream in its lower part was evidently not the main channel in the old days.

(6) *Kadsū* or *Garsu*. Garh Sokindah in north-west Katak (Beames). Not satisfactory. Not traceable in the T. chronicles. The text seems corrupt.

(7) *Mazkūrīn*, independent Talukdars, with three forts, Pacchham Donk, Khandait, Majori. Pachhimkot village in Parganā Ragadi, north-west Katak, Khanditor on the Kharsuā, ten miles west of Jajpur, Manjūri, a parganā on the north bank



of the Baitarni, four miles above Jajpur (Beames). The first identification is possible, but doubtful; the second unsatisfactory as taking the sarkār too far south; the third correct. The forts are, of course, in vernacular called killās.

### V. Sarkār Jalesar.

This sarkār<sup>1</sup> was very large in area and was heavily assessed (Rs. 12,51,318½). On the south from the Kāsabāsa river it extended first north-east and then north until the rivers Bhāgirathi and the Rūpanārāyana were reached; and then on the north it was bounded roughly by the Palāspāi Khāl and the Silāi river, while the western boundary was ill-defined, consisting of jungle mahals. The sarkār thus comprised north Balasore, nearly the whole of Midnapore (except Hijili Islands and the eastern half of Ghātāl subdivision), and small parts of the districts Bānkurā, Mānbhum, Siṅghum and of the Mayūra-bhañja tributary state.

The formation of the sarkār is due to the Musalmans. By the treaty of peace with Dāūd on 12th April, 1575 A.D., the northern sarkārs of Orissa passed into the hands of the Mughals. Murād Khān was the first Mughal governor of Jalesar. Later in the year when Dāūd attacked and killed the governor of Bhadrak and marched northwards, Murād Khān retreated to the capital Tāndah. Jalesar was then occupied by the Afghans, and remained in their possession until Mānasimha's reconquest in 1593 A.D. Even after that in 1599-1600 A.D., the Afghāns again rose under Usmān, defeated the Imperialists near Bhadrak and reoccupied Orissa with Jalesar Sarkār until defeated by Mānasimha.

Prince Khurram, when he rebelled against his father Jahāngir, passed through this sarkār on his way from Katak to Bardwan, and again when he retreated southwards to Deccan. In the revised rent-roll of the Prince Shāh Sujah (c. 1650 A.D.) Sarkār Jalesar was subdivided into seven sarkārs (Soro, Remnā, Bastā, Jalesar, Maljettah, Goalparah and Mazkurīn) and 127 mahals. Of these except the first all were dismembered from Orissa and added to Bengal with the port of Balasore and the Nilgiri Hills. In the 'perfect' rent-roll of Murshid Kuli Khān (1722 A.D.) these dismembered sarkārs were placed under two chaklās, Bandar Balasore and Hijili, and in the zamindari of Tamluk, comprising 104 pargāns. The Sarkārs Soro, Remnā, Bastā and Jalesar were dependent on Balasore, but were, however, readded to the Subah of Orisā for administrative purposes.

In 1751 A.D., Alivardi Khān ceded to the Marāthās the whole of Subah Orisā up to the Suvarnarekhā river, and beyond

<sup>1</sup> Professor Blochmann had a few notes on Jalesar Sarkār in Hunter's *Statistical Account of Bengal*, vol. I, pp. 370-71.

that the Parganā of Patāsapura (now in Thānās Patāspura and Egra of Contāi Subdivision). After the war in 1803, the Bhonslā Chief of Nāgpur ceded the above territory to the British.

(1) *Bānsanda* or *Bānsad*, *urj Hast-chor*, with five forts. Bānmundi village on the right bank of the Suvarnarekhā opposite Jellasore (Beames). A mistake. It is the Bāusadā caura of Remuṇā Daṇḍapāṭa in the T. chronicles. Along with six other cauras it was raised to a mahal in the *Aīn*. The name has survived in the fairly large village Bāsadihā near Jalesar. It must have been much more important in older days, for among the few places named in this area, appears *Bansja* in Valentyn's map (*circa* 1670 A.D.), though put higher up near Kendua or Kānθi (Contai). Father Manrique (c. 1630 A.D.) mentions Banga as an important centre of trade where the Portuguese had a Church.

The mahal yielded considerable revenue, Rs. 1,05,285 $\frac{1}{2}$ , and therefore must have covered a large area. It extended probably from the Suvarnarekhā river north-east to the Bagri river. Some of the following joors or cauras included under Sarkār Jalesar by Grant (p. 533) must have formed part of the seven cauras of Bāsadihā mahal,—Gozaljoor, Lodenjoor, Agrajoor, Lanojoor, Akrajoor, Phulwarrahjoor, Narajoor.

(2) *Bibli*. Pipli Shahbandar on the Suvarnarekhā (Bl. and Beam.). Not traceable in the T. chronicles. Probably it did not exist in the Hindu time. It has survived in Parganā Shahbandar (royal port), Thana Bāliāpāl, District Balasore. The parganā was in area a small one, but the revenue was considerable, Rs. 50,285 $\frac{1}{2}$ , which consisted chiefly of port dues.

Of the port no trace now exists. Probably it has been washed away. But it existed in Rennell's time (see his Atlas, plate VII, 1779 A.D.) and is mentioned in Midnāpūr Collector Mr. Bayley's *Memorandum on Midnapore* (1852). It was the oldest port in Orīsā visited by the Europeans, and owed its rise chiefly to their trade from the sea, though its position on the Suvarnarekhā enabled it to tap freely the resources of a large inland area. The river gradually silted up; and the greater facilities of the neighbouring port of Balasore made the latter a formidable rival in the eyes of the Europeans. It existed as a port in Bernier's time, after which its trade died out. The place is shown as *Popolai* in Gastaldi's map (1561 A.D.) and as *Piplipatan* in DeBarros' map (*circa* 1570 A.D.), and other subsequent maps. Father Manrique visited this port in 1636 A.D.

(3) *Bāli Shāhi*. Kālindi Bālishāhī (Bl.), lying among the sandhills on the seashore (B.). Not traceable in the T. chronicles. At the time of British occupation Bālisāhi was shown under two sarkārs, Maṭjetha (G. 434) and Mazkurīn (G. 533). The name now survives in two parganās, Kālindi and Orissa Bālisāhi, both in Thānā Rāmanagar, Subdivision Contai, District Midnāpūr.

The mahal, as its name signifies, lay along the sea coast. A quarter of Puri town goes under the same name (*Bālisāhi*).

(4) *Bālkohsi*, *B. Kohi*, *B. Khosi* or *B. Kothī*, with three forts, Sokrah, Bānhas Tāli, Daddhpūr. Balikothi in Parganā Satmalang (Bl.), *Bārah Kosī*, the twelve kos between the Subarnarekhā and the Būrhābalang (B.), Sokrah is Sohroh and Bānhas-tāli is Bhainsbāti on the Kānsbāns, six miles south-east of Sahroh (B.). No such name found in the Temple chronicles. The text of the *Aīn* seems very corrupt. The mahal may represent the Soro Dāndapāta of the T. chronicles, an important division which would otherwise remain unnoticed in the *Aīn*. Eleven Bisis of Soro Dāndapāta are named :— Āmkorā, Kāendā, Kuṛe, Khajuri, Ganasara Khanda, Ja-epūra, Bācāsa, Bāsili-khanda, Beñāhāra, Saraghara, Suneri. Except the last, all still exist as parganās, and the last (Suneri) may have been altered to Sunahat or Sunhat. The Dāndapāta thus lay roughly from the Nilgiri Hills on the west, to the sea on the east, and from the Matāi tributary of the Baitaranī on the south to the Jamkā stream on the north. Soroh was raised to a sarkār with 15 mahals in Shah Sujah's rent-roll.

The first fort was at Sokrah which is probably Soroh, the letter *k* being a copyist's addition; while the second fort at Bānhastāli may be in Bāncāsa, one of the Bisis named. As the old Pādshāhi road passed through this mahal, the three forts lay evidently near this road, which was much infested by robbers and thieves in old days.

(5) *Parbadā* or *Barpadā*, with a fort partly on a hill partly fenced by forest. Biripada in Morbhanj (Bl.) Garpadā village, half-way between Jellasore and Balasore (B.). The Bhañjabhūmi Bāripadā Dāndapāta of the T. chronicles. This has survived in Bhañjabhum Parganā in Thānās Kespur and Sālbani, north of Midnāpūr town. A wild hilly tract, it formed part of Mayūrabhañja tributary state according to the Persian documents seen by Stirling. Hence the name Bhañjabhum, Bhañja being the family title of Mayūrbhañja chiefs. Bāripadā is still the name of the headquarters of Mayūrbhañja, being situated on the upper reach of the Būrhābalaṅga river. The revenue was in fact the tribute assessed on this chief, and hence was in round figures six lakh forty thousand dāms or Rupees sixteen thousand.

(6) *Bhogrāi* with a fort. A large parganā at the mouth of the Subarnarekhā, partly in Balasore, partly in Hijili (Bl. and B.). Not traceable in the T. chronicles. It survives in a parganā partly in Thānā Bāliapāl of Balasore District, and partly in Thānā Rāmnagara in Contai subdivision. The mahal lay along the sea coast from the Subarnarekhā north-east, a fact which explains the statement that it had to supply a quota of 100 cavalry and 2200 archers and *matchlockmen*. Matchlocks

in the days of the *Aīn* could have been supplied in that part only by Europeans trading up the Subarnarekhā.

(7) *Bugdi*. In north Midnapore (Bl. and B). Not traceable in the T. chronicles. It survives as a parganā, partly in Thānā Chandrakonā of Ghātāl Subdivision, but mostly in Thānā Garbetā of Midnāpūr Sadar subdivision, misspelt in the Boundary Commissioner's list as Bhogrāi and thus making it liable to be confounded with No. 6. The parganā is shown in Rennell's Atlas (plate VII, 1779 A.D.).

The mahal, though considerable in size (444.15 square miles at present), had the smallest revenue in Orisā, less than a thousand rupees (Rs. 987½). This revenue was therefore only a nominal tribute from the then zamindar of a wild hilly tract, inhabited chiefly by the aboriginal tribes. The zamindar is said to have been a Rājput. He was probably Bir Bhān Simha, the zamindar of Chandrakonā. His son Hari Bhān alias Hari Nārāyana is mentioned in the *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri* as having rebelled in 1617 A.D.; but in the *Pādishāhnāma* his name appears among the mansabdars of five hundred. From a Bengali inscription recorded on a loose stone kept in the Lālji temple at Chandrakonā it appears that Laksmanāvati, the widow of Hari-nārāyana, who had built a Navaratna temple in 1653 A.D., was mother of the (reigning) king Mitra Sena and a sister of Nārāyana Malla. Mitra Sen died childless, and Bagri passed to the maternal family, the Mallas of Bisenpur. In a Jamā-Kharac account of Orissa dated 1707 A.D., the name of Rājā Durjan Simha of Bisenpur appears as the zamindar of Bagri (G., p. 462). By the usual malguzary operations Rājā Kirtti Candra of Bardwan took forcible possession of the parganā and succeeded in securing a Dewanny sanad from the Nawab Suja-ud-daula of Bengal in 1728 A.D., thus including Bagri in his estate (G. 477, 478). Its revenue had then increased to Rs. 7,001. After British occupation it increased still further to Rs. 19,006 in 1771 A.D., and to Rs. 55,679 in 1870 A.D. The greater part of the parganā is now in perpetual lease to Messrs. Watson & Co.

(8) *Bāzār*. Dhenkiā Bāzār on the Kasai, south-east of the town of Midnapore (Bl., B.). It could not have the name of any territorial division, for then the name itself would have been given, e.g., Bāzār Chatāghāt in Sarkār Ghorāghāt, Bāzār Ibrahampur in Sarkār Sharifābād. I think it refers to the market dues of a large town like Midnāpūr, and as the amount was not small (Rs. 3,143) it probably included ground rent. For similar market dues, see Sarkār Lakhnauti, Jowar (circle) Darsarak.

(9) *Bābbanbhūm*. Brahmanbhūm in north Midnapur (Bl., B.). Not traceable in the T. chronicles. This parganā lies north of Bhañjabhūm, partly in Thānā Sālbani, but mostly in Thānā Kespur of the Sadar subdivision, Midnāpur district.

The suffix *bhūm* is peculiar to names of tracts in the Jungle mahals, e.g., Bhañjabhūm, Barāhabhūm, Tuṅgbhūm, Dhalbhūm, Mānbhūm, Singbhūm. The zamindar of Brahmanabhūm was a Brāhmaṇ, evidently of the same family with whom a few years later Kavikaṅkana Cakravarṭī, the author of the well-known Bengal poem *Candī*, took refuge. Kavikaṅkana mentions Vīramādhava, his son Bākuṛā Rāya, and his son Raghunātha, the last being his patron. They resided at Ārarā, a village some four miles off from Candrakonā. In course of time the zamindari passed into the hands of Bardwan Rāj. Its revenue, assessed in the *Aīn* at Rs. 2,855 $\frac{1}{2}$  only, had in the early British assessment of 1178 B.S. (1771 A.D.) been raised to Rs. 35,910, or more than twelve times.

(10) *Taliya* with *Kasbah* Jalesar which has a brick fort. Jalesar in Midnapore and Balasore (Bl., B.). The first name is not identified by Blochmann and has proved a stumbling-block to Beames. The latter would read it *patnah*, while Mr. Beveridge would read it *Takiyā*. Unfortunately for these suggestions, the *Mādalā Pāñji* supplies us with a very similar name, Taniā or Tandiā Dandapāṭa, and the following six Bisis of it are named:—Ekhrā Caura, Jalesvara Caura, Dāntuni Caura, Nāraṅgā Caura, Binisarā or Bāñisarā Caura, Berāi Caura. Except No. 4, all still exist as pargāns, and the fourth may be Barnichor in Thānā Dāntan. Jalesar is now in Balasore district and the others are in Midnāpur.

The mahal covered a large area, and paid the highest revenue in the sarkār, Rs. 3,00,177 $\frac{1}{2}$ . It extended from the Subarnarekhā river northwards to the Kāliāghāi river, and was traversed by the old Pādshāhi road that crossed the Subarnakekhā at Jalesar town.

The town is an old place, and was visited by Caitanya during his pilgrimage to the south in 1509-10 A.D. During the early Mughal occupation it was the headquarters of the governor. Murād Khān was the first governor in 1575 A.D. When Dāūd invaded Bengal on hearing the death of the Mughal viceroy Munim Khān, Murād retreated to Tāndah, and the sarkār was occupied by the Afghāns. It remained in their possession until the reconquest of Orissa by Mānasimha in 1593 A.D.

In the rent-roll of the Prince Shāh Sujah (c. 1650 A.D.), Jalesar continued to be a sarkār with 22 mahals, but was annexed to Bengal. This smaller sarkār was retransferred to Orissa in the first quarter of the eighteenth century. When Ālivardi Khān ceded to the Marāthās Orissa south of the Subarnarekhā, Jalesar town lying just on the north bank of the river, became of importance as a frontier town of Bengal, and continued to be so until the British conquest of Orissa in 1803.

(11) *Tanbulak*, with a fort. Tamluk (Bl., B.) The old

Tāmralipti.<sup>1</sup> From the old maps of Gastaldi and De Barros Tamluk appears to have been connected with the sea by another channel flowing direct south into the Haldi river. This channel was sufficiently wide and deep to admit the passage of the then sea-going vessels up to Tamluk, and thus enabled it to flourish as a port. The silting up of this channel must have been a main cause of its decline. At that time the Thānās Maslandpur and Sutāhāta formed an island, with this channel to the west, the Bhāgirathī on the east, the Rūpnārāyana on the north and the Haldi on the south. In the early British period an attempt was made to deepen this silted-up channel, and under the name of Bānkā Nālā it was formally opened for traffic on 21st April, 1784. But all efforts to keep off silting proved a failure, and the scheme had to be given up.

(12) *Tarkol*, with a fort in the jungle. Tarkuā (Bl., B.). Not traceable in the T. chronicles. The Tarkuā Caura lies east of Dāntan Caura, partly in Thānā Dāntan of Midnāpūr Sadar Subdivision, and partly in Thānā Patāspur of Contai Subdivision. It is the same as Takaroi of the *Akbarnāmah*, near which was fought on 3rd March, 1575 A.D., the decisive battle between Munim Khan and Dāūd, a battle that lost Bengal and Orissa to the Afghāns. In 1584 A.D. the Afghāns retreated to *Takaroi* and took refuge in the neighbouring forest of Dharmapur. The importance of the place was due to the fact that the old Pādishāhi road to Orisā passed close by, between dense woods on either side.

(13) *Dāwar Shorbhūm ur/ Bārah* or *Tarah*. Pārah, the tract of saliferous land otherwise known as Shorparah, on the sea coast from the Subarnakekhā to the Rasūlpūr river (Beames). Not identified by Blochmann. Beames' identification is not satisfactory, because the saliferous tract was included in Mahal Māljyāthā (No. 25). The name Bārah is evidently the same as Barāha (-bhūm), and Shorbhūm is another form of Savar-bhūm, the land of Savara tribe. Barāhabhūm now lies in Mānbhūm district, drained by the upper reaches of the Kasāi river. From the rather considerable revenue assessed, Rs. 33,559, this mahal seems to have included the whole of the hilly jungly tract on the west of Midnāpūr district from the Subarnarekhā northwards to the Kasāi.

(14) *Ramna*, with five forts, in the Haveli, Rāmcandpūr, Rāmkā or Rārkā, Dūt and the new (*pañjam jadid ast*). Remna, 6 miles north-west of Balasore town (Bl., B.). The Remnā Daṇḍapāta of the Temple chronicles, of which no less than twenty-eight Bisis are named :—

Ānkosa(?r)dā, Ārimola, Kundī, Guneu, Chānuā Caura, Tanmaṅgalā, Talaṅga, Talasamohi, Nagara Caura, Naruā Caura, Nuṇikhandā, Pānuā, Bayālisi, Bāusadā Caura, Mānadā,

<sup>1</sup> See my article on Tāmralipti, J.A.S.B., 1908, pp. 289-91.

Mānaciā Caura, Muļagā, Muļapāi, Mokharā, Rāikamā, Rāepāta, Remunā, Lāukerā Caura, Lātingalesvara Caura, Śrīlorā, Sakintiā Caura, Sunibā Cau(ra), Surumkuta Caura. Of these Bāsadā Caura was raised into a separate mahal (No. 1) with six other cauras. Nos. 1, 2, 3, 5, 10, 16, 18, 21 and 23 still exist as parganās. Tan-(or Tin-) maingala is related to Pāñcamaṅgal and Dasamaṅgal Parganās, Talasamohi to Talasabaṅga, Mānadā to Mulidā.

The Dāndapāta was large in size, and judging from the parganās identified spread over north Balasore, in Thānās Balasore, Bastā and Bāliāpāl, and over part of the eastern Mayūrbhañja too. It yielded also a considerable revenue, Rs. 1,26,557 $\frac{1}{2}$ . In Shāh Sujah's rent-roll, Remuṇā continued to be a sarkār with 20 mahals, but was added to Bengal.

Remuṇā Visaya is pretty old. In Śaka year 1218 (1296 A.D.) lands in two villages of Remuṇā Visaya were granted to a Brahman by order of the Orissa king Narasimhadeva II.<sup>1</sup> Among the boundaries of the villages were the *Suvarnarekhā-nadi-setu*, and *Suvarna-nady-uttara*. These statements show that the Visaya extended at that time at least as far north as the Suvarnarekhā river.

The first of the five forts was in the Haveli, i.e., in the suburbs of the town Remuṇā. The town was naturally the halting place of the king in his northern tour and had a fortified palace. In a copperplate inscription the king Narasimhadeva II made a grant while halting at Remuṇā Kāṭaka, and this grant is dated 6th August 1296 A.D.<sup>2</sup>

Before Balasore rose into importance Remuṇā had been the chief city in north Orissa. Its temple of Kṣira-corā Gopinātha was famous, and was visited by Caitanya in 1509-10 A.D. It was also well known to Europeans who traded up the Burābalaṅga river, and Remuṇā lying so near the river formed their great mart in this tract. Hence it appears in old maps of Gastaldi, De Barros, Blaeu and Valentyn. The old Pādshāhi road passed through Remuṇā, which formed the next important halting station after the Suvarnarekhā had been crossed at Jalesore, followed by a crossing over the Burābalaṅga river above Balasore.

The second fort was at Rāmchandpur, eight miles north-east of Remna (B.). This village lay on the old Pādshāhi road and was shown in Rennell's Atlas (plate vii, 1779 A.D.). The sites of the other three forts are not traceable.

(15) *Rayn*, on the borders of Orissā, with three forts. It must be north of Midnapore (Bl.). Rālbaniān, seven miles

<sup>1</sup> See the *Viśvakosa* of Babu Nagendranāth Vasu, article *Gāṅgeya, Remuṇā-visaya-madhyavartti Nṛsiṁharā-mandoi grāma*.

<sup>2</sup> J.A.S.B., 1896, p. 254, *Soma-vāre Remuṇā-katake navar-ābhyantra-vijaya-samaye*.

from Jellasore, on the western side of the Subarnrekha (B.). Blochmann's identification is not clear and Beames' attempt is a mistake. The significant expression "on the borders of Orissa" must take it far north. In the *Akbarnāmah*, at one place Harpur and at other places Cittuā are said to be intermediate (*barzakhe*) between Bangālah and Orisā. In Valentyn's map (c. 1670 A.D.) a monument is drawn west of Bardā to mark the frontier between Bengal and Orissa, and Bardā Parganā (Ghātāl) adjoins parganā Cittuā on the north-west. It is thus clear that the frontier of Orisā (with the Mahal Rayn) lay west of Cittuā and Bardā Parganās. So far as rivers could have formed the boundary, the Silāi and the Palāspāi khāl would have been the northernmost limit. The old Pādīshāhi road from Jehanābād passing through Cittuā apparently crossed the Palāspāi khāl, which was probably a continuation of the Silāi in those days, near this parganā, and then crossed the Kasāi river lower down.

(16) *Raepur*, a large city with a fortress. West of Bagri on the upper Kasai, now in Chutia Nagpur (Bl.); in south Bānkurah, 40 miles N.W. of Midnapore (B.). Not traceable in the T. chronicles. It still survives as a parganā in the Thānā of that name in Bānkurā.

The parganā formed part of Bisenpur Rāj so late as 1707 A.D., but was occupied by the Bardwan Raj and included in its general sanad of 1728 A.D. (G. 462, 478). It is shown in large letters in Rennell's Atlas (plate vii, 1779 A.D.) and was therefore a place of importance in those days.

(17) *Sabang*, with a fort in the jungle. A parganā in central Midnapore (Bl., B.). Not traceable in the T. chronicles. The old Pādīshāhi road passed to its west. It is now noted for its mat manufacture, and lies in the thānā of that name.

(18) *Siyāri*. Chiara in Midnāpore (Bl.) A parganā on the Subarnarekhā, sixteen miles south-east of Jellasore (B.). Not traced in the T. chronicles. Of the two different parganās thus identified, the one in Balasore seems to be correct. This is a small parganā in Thānā Bāliāpāl of Balasore subdivision.

(19) *Kāsijorā*. In Midnapore (Bl.), in East Midnapore (B.). Not traced in the T. chronicles. The modern parganā lies partly in Thānā Debrā of Midnāpur sadar subdivision, but mostly in Thānā Pāsakuā of Tamluk subdivision. It was included in Goālpārāh Sarkār, and gave the name to a large zamindari often mentioned in the early records of Midnāpur district (G. 532). The mahal supplied a quota of 200 cavalry and 2,500 *matchlock* and bowmen. The matchlocks were obtained probably from the Portuguese who had settled at Tamluk and Banga.

(20) *Kharaksūr*, with a fort in the wooded hills. Kharakpur in Midnapore (Bl., B.). Not traced in the T. chronicles.

The modern parganā lies in the thānā of that name. The old Pādishāhi Road from Midnāpur town passed through it southwards. "Currackpore" is shown in Rennell's Atlas (plate vii). Its quota of 500 footmen and *matchlockmen* are interesting.

(21) *Kedārkhand*, with three forts. In Midnapore (Bl., B.). Not traced in the Temple chronicles. The modern parganā lies in Thānās Debrā and Sabaṅg of Midnāpur Sadar subdivision. It is shown in Rennell's Atlas (plate vii) and formed part of Kāsijorā zamindari at the time of the early British occupation (G. 532).

(22) *Karāi, Keri or Kerai*. In Midnapore (Bl.). Kasiari, 20 miles south-west of Midnapore (B.). Both the identifications doubtful. It may be the Kudei Bisi of Soro Daṇḍapāṭa, the modern Kurāi Pargana in Thānā Soro of Balasore Sadar subdivision. A small mahal with a revenue of Rs. 7,143 only.

(23) *Gagnapur*. Gagneswar, in Midnapore (Bl., B.). Not traced in the T. chronicles. The identification is a mistake. Gāgnāpur is quite distinct from Gagneswar which lies in Thānā Dāntan, while Gāgnāpur lies in Thānā Pāsakurā of Tamluk subdivision. It formed part of the Kāsijorā zamindāri (G. 532).

(24) *Karohi or Kerauli*. Not identified (Bl.). Parganā Kurul Chaur in south Midnapore, 15 miles from Jellasore (B.). Not traced in the T. chronicles. Kurul Caura lies in Thānā Dāntan of Midnāpur sadar subdivision and Thānā Egrā of Contai subdivision. It had a very small revenue of Rs. 1,714 $\frac{1}{4}$  only, and was probably covered with jungle. The old Pādi-shāhi road passed by it.

(25) *Mālchhata or Māljikta*. Portions of Hijili (Bl.), the tract on the sea-coast of Midnapore from the mouth of Rasulpur river in the Rūpnarāyan (B.). The Mālajeṣthiyā Daṇḍapāṭa of the T. chronicles. No Bisis of it are mentioned and the temple grant was from its salt (*luna*) revenue. This division was raised to a sarkār of 21 mahals in the revised rent-roll of Shah Sujah, and was annexed to Bengal. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the tract was placed under a Faujdār. In the early British administration this Faujdāri of Hijili consisted of five subdivisions, Jellamutah, Derodumnā, Mahisādal, Sujāmutah and Parganā Tamluk (G. 434). Seven parganās of Mālīyāthā Sarkār were also included at the time in Caklā Midnapore (G. 533).

In the *Caitanya-carit-āmyta* (Antyakhaṇḍa, ninth pariccheda) it is narrated that Gopinātha Barajenā, brother of Rāmā-nanda Rāya, was in charge of this Daṇḍapāṭa. He fell into an arrear of revenue, two lakh kāhans of cowries, and was ordered by the king Pratāparudradeva to be put to death. From this fate he was saved by the mediation of Caitanya's disciples. The mahal was assessed in the *Aīn* with the second highest revenue of the sarkār, Rs. 2,32,815 $\frac{1}{4}$ . This apparently in-

cluded the salt revenue, which in the time of the Hindu kings was paid largely in kind.

(26) *Mednipur*, having a large city with two forts. Midnapur (Bl., B.). Not traced in the T. chronicles. The modern parganā extends over three thānās of Sadar, viz., Midnāpur, Kespur and Sālbani. It was originally a small mahal including the town and its suburbs. Hence the revenue was assessed in the *Aīn* at Rs. 25,498 $\frac{1}{4}$  only. But before British occupation it had absorbed the adjoining parganā of Bhañjabhūm. In the early British assessment of 1777-8 A.D. Parganā Midnāpur formed part of the large zamindari of Kāsijorā paying a revenue of Rs. 1,79,378 (G. 532).

The town of Midnāpur from its favourable position on the Kasāi river must have existed in the Hindu times. According to the *kārcā* of Govinda Dāsa, Caitanya visited Medinipur in 1509 A.D. on his way to Puri. In the daring pursuit of Dāūd by Todar Mal, the latter passed through Midnāpur and here his colleague, Muhammad Ḳuli Khān Barlās, died in Ramzan 982 H. The town grew in importance, and in the Marāthā war Ālivardi Khān halted with his troops and officers at Midnāpur for several months in 1750 A.D., watching the Marāthā advance from Nagpur and Orisā.

The new fort is evidently the one near the courts which was formerly used as jail. The old one lay, I think, at Gop, two miles west of the present town. Here are found ruins of a house surrounded by massive walls and a trench. This hill-top is 211 ft. above the sea level according to the Trigonometrical Survey.

(27) *Mahākāṅghāt ur/ Kutabpur*, with a fortress. In Midnapur (Bl., B.). Not traced in the T. chronicles. The modern parganā Kutabpur lies in Thānā Debrā of Midnāpur Sadar subdivision and Thānā Pāsakurā of Tamluk subdivision, almost enclosed by the Kasāi on the south, and its tributary Palāspāi Khāl on the west and the north. It was a small mahal with the revenue fixed in round figures at Rs. 6,000.

The old Pādishāhi road passed through it. From the use of the word ghāt in the Hindu name of the mahal, it appears to have been derived from some important crossing, either over the Palāspāi or over the Kasāi river.

(28) *Narāinpūr ur/ Kandhār* with a fort on a hill. In Midnapore (Bl.). Two separate parganās, a few miles to the south of Midnapore (B.). The Naranapura of the T. chronicles. It must have been a fairly large mahal as the revenue was assessed at Rs. 57,021 $\frac{1}{4}$ , and probably extended westwards as far as the Subarnarekhā river. At the time of the British occupation the Thānā Nārāyanagara and the Parganā Kandhāra were included in the large zamindari of Kāsijorā (G. 532).

The old Pādishāhi road passed from Midnāpur southwards to Jalesar through Nārāyanapura. The fort lay probably near

this road on the Kālighāi river and near the modern Nārayaṇagāra village. Nārāyanapura is mentioned in a copper-plate inscription as a Kātaka where the Orisā king Narasimhadeva IV halted and passed orders on 24th February, 1397 A.D., about a land grant.<sup>1</sup> According to the *karcā* (diary) of Govinda Dāsa Nārāyanagara was visited by Caitanya in 1509-10 A.D. after Medinipur.

The *Mādalā Pāñji* mentions two other Dandapāṭas, Jau-liti and Nāigā. Jau-liti is mentioned between Tāṇiā and Naranapūr, and Nāigā follows just after Naranapur. They cannot be identified, but from their position in the context they would seem to be some Dandapāṭas of the sarkār Jalesar. Nāigā might have survived in the name Nagwan of Thānā Egrā. It must have been a place of some importance, as a Joint Magistrate had his head-quarters here for some time before its removal to present Contai.

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<sup>1</sup> J.A.S.B., 1895, p. 152, *Nārāyanapūra-kāṭake Śrīcarane pūjā uttāru Vijekari.*



6. A Progress Report on the Preliminary Work done during the year 1915 in connection with the Proposed Bardic and Historical Survey of Rajputana.

By DR. L. P. TESSITORI.

#### INTRODUCTION.

The difficulties which have made it impossible to commence the Bardic and Historical Survey of Rajputana in Jodhpur on the lines proposed in the scheme approved by the Council of the Asiatic Society in December 1914, and published in the Society's Journal for that month (Vol. X, pp. 373-410) have been briefly referred to in the Society's Annual Report for the present year (1915). These led, as there stated, to the transference of my work to Bikaner, where it is hoped that it may be possible to commence the Survey on similar lines, though probably on a smaller scale.

I moved to Bikaner on the 6th December, invited by H. H. the Maharaja, who had decided to employ me for four months in the first instance, i.e. from December to the end of March, to examine the bardic and historical materials in the Darbar Library in the Fort, and suggest a plan for future work. At the end of the four months, the advisability of a further employment in connection with the compilation of a History of Bikaner and the publication of the most important bardic poems referring to the State, will be taken into consideration together with the question of funds. The field is a rich and interesting one, and the intelligent and enlightened support of the present Maharaja, Colonel Sir Ganga Singh, affords good hopes of a complete success.

#### THE WORK DONE.

The work now under report was started from the 1st January, 1915, in accordance with the plan laid down in my "Scheme for the Bardic and Historical Survey of Rajputana," except for a few differences imposed by the limited means at my disposal. My two assistants, Pandit Rāma Karna and Cārana Kiśora Dāna, were liberated from the Tawarikh and Bardio Mehkma, where they had been employed, only on the 26th of January, but I had been able to utilize their services even before, in their non-office hours. The travelling man, Bhāṭa Nānū Rāma, was regularly employed from the 1st of January, and so was the copyist. The two former assistants

were placed at my disposal for a period of three months in the first instance, and when this period expired and I asked for a renewal of their leave, it was refused. So they remained with me only three months, Rāma Karna assisting me practically only till the beginning of May, when he fell ill, and Kiśora Dāna till the end of the same month. The travelling man, though eventually not always the same Bhāṭa Nānū Rāma, was employed till the end of October, and so also the copyist, but in the months of September and October I had two copyists instead of one. To proceed with order, I will divide the work under two heads, corresponding to the Editing and Local Superintending Department and the Searching Department in my Scheme. In the Publishing Department nothing was done, as in the beginning the Asiatic Society of Bengal withheld sanction for printing the results of the Survey till the decision of the Government of India was known, and afterwards there were no funds to meet the expenses of publication.

To begin with the editing, the most noteworthy result achieved is the preparation of the edition of the *Vacanikā Rāthōra Ratana Singhajī rī Mahesadāsotā rī*, a bardic poem by Cāraṇa Khiriyò Jagò. A dozen manuscripts of this poem had been collected during the preliminary period August—November, 1914, and to these others were added subsequently, some of which dating from the end of the seventeenth century A.D. Of all the manuscripts thus collected, 13 have been taken into account in the edition prepared. The work was composed a few years after the battle of Ujain (1658 A.D.), fought by Mahārāja Jasavanta Singha of Jodhpur on one side, and Aurangzeb and Murad, the two rebel sons of Shāh Jahān, on the other. It is the aforesaid event that the poem celebrates, but special homage is paid to the heroism of Ratana Singha, Rājā of Ratlam, in Malwa, who was killed on the field. It is a work of a high literary value and enjoys a certain popularity, especially in Marwar, though the form of language in which it is couched, is far beyond the intelligence of the average reader. As proposed in my Scheme, the edition of the poem will consist of two parts: the one containing the Diṅgala text with different readings and critical notes, and the other the English translation with historical introduction and explanatory notes.

Besides the *Vacanikā*, the edition of another work has been prepared for the press, and this is the *Uktiratnākara* by Sādhu Sundara. It is not a bardic work, but a work on grammar in the form of an etymological glossary, and its chief importance lies in the fact that it throws a considerable light on the Old Mārwāṛī of the beginning of the seventeenth century A.D. I have shown elsewhere that the Diṅgala language of the bards of Rajputana is ultimately but Old Mārwāṛī, or, to use a more comprehensive term, Old Western Rājasthānī, hence the connection of the *Uktiratnākara* with our field of

research. It was first meant for insertion in the "Bulletin," but since, owing to the present impossibility of starting the Survey on an official and permanent footing, the "Bulletin" now has hardly any reason to come into existence, it might, like the *Vacanikā*, form a volume in the "Series of Bardic and Historical Texts." Incidentally, it may be observed, that as there are some grammatical and literary works, which are directly or indirectly connected with the bardic literature of Rajputana, though they cannot be described as bardic according to the strict meaning of the term, it is advisable that they should also be published in the aforesaid "Series." In this regard, it seems to me that if the "Series" was called "Bibliotheca Rajasthanica," the appellation would be a very appropriate one.

Some other materials, which had been prepared for the "Bulletin," will be found given as an appendix to the present Report. The monograph on Phalodhī was but one of six, the other five comprising similar accounts of Pohakarana, Sojhata, Sivāṇō, Meratō and Jētāraṇa. These have remained incomplete as visits to the places with the object of collecting inscriptions, etc., were first postponed till more funds would be granted, and afterwards found impracticable. But where I have been wronged the most, is in the Chronicles, which I had begun to examine with a view to compile a History of Jodhpur. Here all my pains have been in vain, except for a portion of a *Descriptive Catalogue*, which is ready for the press and will be found of use in the compilation of the History of Bikaner and, eventually, the minor Rāthōra States. It is a description and classification of the historical information contained in sixteen huge volumes, almost all forming part of two rich private collections at Jodhpur. The work was interrupted when, in consequence of the Darbar's departing from its friendly attitude, people became afraid of lending me their books.

In the searching department of the work, I was a little better off, for in spite of the existence of the same difficulties as in the editing, namely, want of help and scarcity of funds, I was able to employ men from the 1st of January to the end of October uninterruptedly. As proposed in my Scheme, I started with two officers in this department: a travelling man and a copyist, and this without taking into account the second assistant, Cārana Kiśora Dāna, whose services were also occasionally utilized for the search till he was allowed to remain with me. The appointment of Bhāta Nānū Rāma for a travelling man eventually proved a failure, the man soon revealing himself as unreliable and unfit for the search of manuscripts. He was dismissed at the end of January and another employed in his place, his name Candra Bhāna, a Puṣkarāṇī brahman who was a clerk in the Tawarikh Mehkma and had been recommended by the first assistant Pandit Rāma Karna. But he also proved



unfit for the search of manuscripts and had to be dismissed in the beginning of April. I was more fortunate with the third man I employed, Ujala Rāma Dayāla, a Sindhāyaca Cārana, whose services were at last found satisfactory.

The places explored by the travelling man are the following :—Phalodhi and environs (January 2nd—21st), Balarwa (January 24th—31st), Pali town and villages in the district (February 17th—April 5th), Bhandiyawas and environs (April 13th—20th), Phalodhi town (April 22nd—23rd), Godhwar province (April 27th—May 31st), Sojhat town and villages in the district (June 2nd—24th), Phalodhi district (July 10th—September 1st). From all the above-mentioned places, impressions of inscriptions were brought and bardic manuscripts borrowed. The last two months of September and October were spent by the travelling man solely in returning the manuscripts borrowed during the preceding eight months, except for a visit to Sitamau and Semalkher, in Malwa (October 19th—28th), the object of which was to collect information concerning the life and epoch of Khiriyò Jagò, the author of the *Vacanikā*, whose descendants live there.

The places explored by myself in connection with the search for manuscripts and inscription, are the following :—Rani, Sadri and Ranakpur (January 7th—11th), Ghanghana and Jhanwar (January 30th), Phalodhi, Kolu, Jalora (February 21st—24th), Pali (March 29th—31st). Outside Marwar, I visited the following places, all in connection with the new arrangements which it became necessary to try to make after the Jodhpur disappointment :—Abu (April 8th—12th), Ajmer, Udaipur, Jaipur (May 30th—June 6th), Bikaner (November 8th—11th). During the visit to Jaipur, manuscripts of bardic interest were also purchased.

As a result of the search, a collection has been made of 129 impressions of inscriptions, and 100 manuscripts, of which 16 received, 16 purchased, and 68 copied in my office under my supervision. The manuscripts received and purchased are all original, except 7 which are modern copies, and they make a total of 32 manuscripts, which include not less than 60 different works. The manuscripts copied in my office contain only one work each. The following is a list of all the 100 manuscripts collected, in which *R* is used to mean "Received," *P* "Purchased," and *C* "Copied."

#### MANUSCRIPTS RECEIVED.

- R.* 1 : जलाल गाह्यो रो वात,  
सदैवक्ष सावलिङ्गा रो वात,  
गूढार्थी,

रिसालू राजा री वात,  
 वचनिका राठोड़ रत्नसिंहजी री महेसदासौत री,  
 गोरा वादल री चौपटे .

Size 11" x 7". No. of leaves 72, of which many broken and crumbly. Unbound. Jaina. Fragmentary, all the works contained being incomplete. The last pages contain ordinary illustrations, in water-colours, sixteen in all.

The first two works were written at Nagòra, Samvat 1808; the fourth at Meratò, Samvat 1809.

Presented by Pañdit Pannā Lāla Bākalīvāla, Nagòra the 9th September, 1914.

R. 2 : चन्दकुवर री वात,  
 सदैवक्ष सावलिङ्गा री वात,  
 जगदे पंचाश री वात .

Size 8½" x 5½". No. of leaves 72. Unbound. Jaina. The first work is incomplete owing to the first page being wanting.

Written at Rāyapura, in Samvat 1845.

Presented by Pandit Rāma Karna, Jodhpur, 24th September, 1914.

R. 3 : वचनिका राठोड़ रत्नसिंहजी री महेसदासौत री,  
 (extract),  
 गौत सिंही जोधराजजी रा,  
 गिन्दोली री वात,  
 फुटकर वाताँ .

Size 6½" x 8½". No. of leaves 140. Unbound. Jaina. Marwari script. Most of the works comprehended under the general title of फुटकर वाताँ are Jaina.

Written between Samvat 1842 and 1890 at Vanāra.

Presented by Pandit Rāma Karna, Jodhpur, 24th September, 1915.

R. 4 : उदैपुर री गञ्जल .

Foolscap. No. of leaves 6. Loose.

Modern copy made at Kheravò, Samvat 1969. The original was composed Samvat 1757, under rāṇā Amara Singha ii of Mewar.

Presented by the Jainācārya Dharma Vijaya Sūri, December, 1914.

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*R. 5 :* ध्वलबत्तीसौ रा दूहा आसिया बाँकौदास रा कहिया,  
नायकानायकवरणा,  
भाषाचित्र महाराज गजसिंहजी रो हेम सोमोर रो  
कहियौ,  
नौसाखी गरीबदास रो कही,  
आऊवै धरणौ झवौ तिण रा कवित्त .

Size 5" x 7". No. of leaves 30. Unbound. About a hundred years old.

Presented by Cāraṇa Śīḍhāyaca Udē Rāja, Jodhpur, 24th March, 1915.

*R. 6 :* गीत साहपुरा रा राजा उमेदसिंहजी रा खिड़िया  
झकमचन्द रा कहिया,  
कुण्डलिया नाममाला रतनूं सुरता रा कहियौ,  
कीरत लिखमौ रो संवाद साँदु संग्राम रो कहियौ,  
फुटकार कविता .

Size 4½" x 6½". No. of leaves 97. Leather-bound; some leaves detached.

Written at Jodhpur between Samvat 1867 and 1874. The second work was written by the author himself.

Presented by Cāraṇa Śīḍhāyaca Udē Rāja, Jodhpur, 24th March, 1915.

*R. 7 :* विमल मन्त्रीसर रो सिलोकौ विनीतकृत .

Foolscap. No. of leaves 7. Loose.

Modern copy.

Presented by the Jainācārya Dharma Vijaya Sūri, April, 1915.

*R. 8 :* ओसवालौ रो उतपत रा कवित्त .

Foolscap. No. of leaves 4. Loose.

Modern copy.

Presented by the Jainācārya Dharma Vijaya Sūri, April, 1915.

*R. 9 :* समेतसिखरस्तवन जयविजयकृत .

Foolscap. No. of leaves 8. Loose.

Modern copy.

Presented by the Jainācārya Dharma Vijaya Sūri, April, 1915.

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*R. 10 : समेतगिरिथीर्थमाला जयसागरकृत .*

Foolscap. No. of leaves 10. Loose.

Modern copy, made from a MS. written by Hetu Sāgara at Kisanagadha, in Samvat 1717.

Presented by the Jainācārya Dharma Vijaya Sūri, April, 1915.

*R. 11 : दुदोड़ रा चाँपावत बौठलदासौतॉ रौ तवारौख रौ खुलासौ .*

Foolscap-size. No. of leaves 12. Unbound. Caused to be compiled by Nāthū Singha, *thākura* of Dudora, in Samvat 1968, and presented by the same on June 4th, 1915.

*R. 12 : फुटकर कविता .*

Size 5½" × 9". No. of leaves 95. Bound but uncovered. Some pages torn. Very bad writing.

About a hundred years old.

Presented by Cāraṇa Gādāṇa Lādhū Rāma of Dhānādō (Vālī), September, 1915.

*R. 13 : कन्दरन्नावलौ हस्त्रामदास कृत .*

Size 8" × 6½". No. of leaves 13. Loose and fragmentary.

Written in the year Samvat 1852.

Presented by Cāraṇa Gādāṇa Lādhū Rāma of Dhānādō (Vālī), September, 1915.

*R. 14 : महाराज अमैसिहूजो रा कवित्त खिडिया बखताजो रा कहिया,*

*फुटकर कविता .*

Size 8" × 6½". No. of leaves 51. Loose and fragmentary. Originally forming one body with *R. 13*.

About a hundred years old.

Presented by Cāraṇa Gādāṇa Lādhū Rāma of Dhānādō (Vālī), September, 1915.

*R. 15 : कर्णीजो रौ रूपक लालस रामदान रौ कहियौ .*

Size 6½" × 10½". No. of leaves 14. Loose. Modern.

Copied and presented by Cāraṇa Lālāsa Gaṇesa Dāna of Jodhpur, a descendant of the author. Jodhpur, 2nd November, 1915.



R. 16: गौत साहपुरा रा राजा उमेदसिंहजी रा खिडिया  
उकमचन्द रा कहिया,  
फुटकर कविता.

Size  $6\frac{1}{4}$ "  $\times 4\frac{1}{4}$ ". No. of leaves 82. Cloth-bound.

The first pages were written at Bhadorò by Sādhu Rāma Nārāyana in Samvat 1912.

Presented by Cāraṇa Bāratha Kiśora Dāna, Jodhpur, November, 1915.

#### MANUSCRIPTS PURCHASED.

P. 1: फुटकर गौत कवित्त छन्द सेवग मन्त्रा राम रा कहिया.

Size  $5\frac{3}{4}$ "  $\times 6\frac{1}{4}$ ". No. of leaves 94. Bound.

Original MS., apparently all written by the very hand of the author, who lived in Godhavāra under Mahārāja Māna Singha of Jodhpur. One of the poems, the *Godhāna Pacīsi*, is dated Samvat 1862 and was written at Ghānerāva by the author himself.

Purchased at Jodhpur, the 24th September, 1914.

P. 2: ओसवालीं श्री उतपत्.

Size  $5\frac{3}{4}$ "  $\times 6\frac{1}{4}$ ". No. of leaves 4. Unbound.

This MS. originally formed one body with the foregoing, but leaves being detached and subject different, it has been classed separately.

P. 3: इतनाँ हमौर श्री बात.

Size  $6\frac{1}{4}$ "  $\times 4\frac{1}{2}$ ". No. of leaves 50. Unbound.

Purchased at Jodhpur, the 25th September, 1914.

P. 4: इनराहीं अदहम बली का चरित्र, कबीरकृत.

Size 5"  $\times 6\frac{1}{2}$ ". No. of leaves 94. Cloth-bound.

Written in Samvat 1879.

Purchased at Jaipur, the 29th September, 1914.

P. 5: नाथचन्द्रिका.

Size 5"  $\times 7$ ". No. of leaves 38. Bound.

Purchased at Jodhpur, the 25th September, 1914.

P. 6: सुन्दरभट्टार,

माताजी श्री सकत भक्त पश्चास.

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Size  $5\frac{1}{2}$ "  $\times$   $5\frac{1}{2}$ ". No. of leaves 126, of which the last 20 added subsequently. Marwari script. Bound but uncovered.

Purchased at Nagor, the 9th September, 1915.

*P. 7 : ठालसंग्रह मुनिखेमकृत .*

Size 4"  $\times$   $9\frac{1}{2}$ ". No. of leaves 9. Unbound. Jaina. Incomplete.

Date of composition Samvat 1745.

Purchased at Jaipur, the 30th September, 1914.

*P. 8 : २४६ फुटकर गौत,*

*मेवाड़ रा महाराणा रा गौत,*

*आविर रा महाराज प्रतापसिंहजी रो नीसाणी खिडिया*

*ज्ञकमचन्द रो कही (incomplete),*

*राजनीति रा कवित्त कवि देवौदास कृत (incomplete),*

*दवावैत महाराज अजितसिंहजी रो ढारकादास*

*धधवाडिया रो कही,*

*फुटकर कविता .*

Size  $13\frac{1}{2}$ "  $\times$  10". No. of leaves 168, of which about one half blank. Cloth-bound. Almost all in Devanāgarī, only a few pages in Marwari script.

About a hundred years old.

Purchased at Jodhpur in November, 1914.

*P. 9 : अचलदास खौचौ रो वचनिका .*

Size  $8\frac{3}{4}$ "  $\times$   $5\frac{1}{2}$ ". No. of leaves 26. Incomplete, owing to the first pages being missing. Unbound.

Written in Samvat 1799.

Purchased at Jaipur, the 5th June, 1915.

*P. 10 : भोजचरित्र अथवा पनश्चमी विद्या .*

Size  $4\frac{1}{2}$ "  $\times$   $9\frac{1}{2}$ ". No. of leaves 16. Unbound. Jaina.

Written in Samvat 1919.

Purchased at Jaipur, the 5th June, 1915.

*P. 11 : विकमादिव्यचरित्र लक्ष्मीवल्लभकृत .*

Size  $4\frac{1}{2}$ "  $\times$  10". No. of leaves 86, of which the first one missing. Unbound. Jaina.

Purchased at Jaipur, the 5th June, 1915.

*P. 12 : रिसालू केवर रो वात .*

Size 4"  $\times$  9". No. of leaves 6. Unbound. Incomplete.

Purchased at Jaipur, the 5th June, 1915.



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*P. 12 : जगदे पैवास रौ बात .*

Size 9" x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". No. of leaves 6. Unbound. Jaina.  
Incomplete.

Apparently about 150 years old.

Purchased at Jaipur, the 5th June, 1915.

*P. 14 : पना रौ बात,  
स्तोत्रमन्त्वसंग्रह .*

Size 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 6". No. of leaves 110. Bound, but uncovered.  
Jaina. Beautiful writing.

Written in Samvat 1868.

Purchased at Jaipur, the 5th June, 1915.

*P. 15 : महाराज अमैसिहुजी रा कवित्त खिडिया बखता रा  
कहिया,  
फुटकर गौत,  
अमैगुण कवि पिराग रा कहिया .*

Size 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". No. of leaves 192, of which many  
blank. Bound, but uncovered.

Written by Sevaga Rāya Canda of Jodhpur between Sam-  
vat 1853 and 1854.

Purchased at Jodhpur, the 12th September, 1915.

*P. 16 : सूरजप्रकाश कविया करनौदान रौ कहियौ,  
नाममाला कवि हमौर रौ कहौ,  
पिङ्गलकन्दयन्न .*

Size 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 8". No. of leaves 270. Bound.

Written by Sevaga Rāya Canda of Jodhpur between Sam-  
vat 1852 and 1853.

Purchased at Jodhpur, the 12th September, 1915.

#### MANUSCRIPTS COPIED.

*C. 1 : जोधपुर महाराज गजसिहुजी रा निर्वाण कवित्त, 2  
leaves.*

From a MS. about 100-150 years old, borrowed from the  
Jainācārya Dharma Vijaya Sūri.

*C. 2. : जोधपुर रा देवस्थान तथा निवासीं रौ विगत, 10  
leaves.*

From the MS. No. 11 (*r-s*) of *Descriptive Catalogue*, Sect. i,  
pt. i.

C. 3 : तपागच्छ रौ पट्टावली, 33 leaves.

From a MS. written in Samvat 1889, borrowed from the Jainācārya Dharma Vijaya Sūri.

C. 4 : अमरवत्तीसौ भाट हरदास रौ कही, 12 leaves.

From a MS. written by Sevaga Pirāga at Ahamadābād in Samvat 1773, borrowed from Cāraṇa Sādū Riva Dāna of Tokarājāsā.

¶ C. 5 : बौरमायण डाठी बाहदर रौ कही, 56 leaves.

From a MS. written by Bogasō Gaūgā Rāma Panāuta at Saravarī, in Samvat 1923, borrowed from Cāraṇa Āsiyō Gumān Singhā of Sonānō.

C. 6 : जैनतीर्थमाला श्रीजविनयकृत, 10 leaves.

From a MS. written in Samvat 1748, borrowed from the Jainācārya Dharma Vijaya Sūri.

C. 7 : एकलगिङ्ग दाठाला सौ बात, 6 leaves.

From a MS. written by jati Motī Sāgara at Dudovaṛa in Samvat 1766, borrowed from the Thākura of Lhasānī (Mewar).

C. 8 : सोहमकुलरत्नपट्टावलीशास दीपविजयकृत, 35 leaves.

From a MS. being the autographic original written by Dīpa Vijaya himself in Samvat 1877, borrowed from the Jainācārya Dharma Vijaya Sūri.

C. 9 : पातसाह हमायूं रौ प्रसङ्ग, 7 leaves.

From a MS. about 50 years old, borrowed from Cāraṇa Āsiyā Ganesa Dāna of Jodhpur.

C. 10 : चौतोड़ रौ गच्छ, 2 leaves.

From a MS. written by Pandit Jñāna Vijaya at Sivapuri in Samvat 1765, borrowed from the Jainācārya Dharma Vijaya Sūri.

C. 11 : जोधपुर रा राठोड़ राजा चारणो नूँ सासग दिया तिखाँ रौ विगत, 5 leaves.

From the MS. No. 11 (b-e) of *Descriptive Catalogue*, sect. i., pt. i.

*C. 12:* ठोला माश्वरी रौ चौपट्टे, 16 leaves.

From a MS. written at Untālā in Samvat 1763, borrowed from the Jainācārya Dharma Vijaya Sūri.

*C. 13:* बास्त महेसदासनी रौ कविता, 45 leaves.

From a MS. of the Samvat-century 1700, borrowed from Cāraṇa Śādū Ghana Syāma of Hiloṛī.

*C. 14:* वैसलदे चौहाण कौ रास, 11 leaves.

From a MS. written in Samvat 1775, borrowed from the Jainācārya Dharma Vijaya Sūri.

*C. 15:* आठा दुरसाजी रौ कविता, 9 leaves.

From the same MS. as *C. 13*.

*C. 16:* साँदू मालाजी रौ कविता, 6 leaves.

From the same MS. as *C. 13*.

*C. 17:* पावूजी रा कन्द चोटक बौठू मेहाजी रा कहिया, 3 leaves.

From a MS. written in Samvat 1806, borrowed from Bhātī Dòlat Singhā, Thākura of Olavi.

*C. 18:* पावूजी रा दूहा लधराज रा कहिया, 11 leaves.

From the same MS.

*C. 19:* संवत रौ विवरौ, 3 leaves.

From the same MS.

*C. 20:* ओसवालाँ रौ उतपत, 2 leaves.

From the same MS.

*C. 21:* चङ्गवाळ साँबलदासनी करमसिन्हजी रा कविता मेहाजी रा कहिया, 8 leaves.

From the same MS. as *C. 13*.

*C. 22:* अचलदास खोखी रौ वचनिका, 17 leaves.

From the same MS. as *C. 17*.

C. 23 : आठा दुरसाजो रो कविता, 25 + 9 leaves.

From a MS., written in the first half of the Samvat-century 1700, borrowed from Cāraṇa Ādhò Saṅkara Dāna of Pācetiyō.

C. 24 : आठा खुमायजी रो कविता, 11 leaves.

From the same MS.

C. 25 : आठा महेसदासजो रो कविता, 8 leaves.

From the same MS.

C. 26 : पावूजो रा कन्द ब्रोटक बौढू मेहाजो रा कहिया, 4 leaves.

From a MS. borrowed from Cāraṇa Āsiyō Pābū Dāna of Bhādiyāvasa.

C. 27 : जगदे पँवार रो वात, 28 leaves.

From the same MS. as C. 17.

C. 28 : आठा दयालदासजो रो कविता, 14 leaves.

From the same MS. as C. 23.

C. 29 : गौत राठोडँ रो वंसावली रा, 8 leaves.

From a MS. borrowed from Bāraṭha Narahara Dāsa of Lolāsa.

C. 30 : आठा किसनाजो रो कविता, 16 leaves.

From the same MS. as C. 23.

C. 31 : खावड़िया राठोडँ रो ख्यात, 7 leaves.

From the MS. No. 11 (a) of *Descriptive Catalogue*, sect. i., pt. i.

C. 32 : झूलणा महाराणा प्रतापसिंहजो रा साँद् मालाजो रा कहिया, 9 leaves.

From a MS. written at Bhadorö by Sādū Hanū Dāna in Samvat 1863, borrowed from Cāraṇa Āsiyō Sumera Dāna of Vasi (Pāli).

C. 33 : राठोडँ रो खाँपाँ रो पोटियाँ, 82 leaves.

From the MS. No. 8 (c) of *Descriptive Catalogue*, sect. i., pt. i.

C. 34 : तपागच्छपट्टावली, 4 leaves.

From a MS. borrowed from Vyāsa Mīthā Lāla of Pāli.

C. 35 : भूलग्ना महाराज शायसिहुंजो रा साँद मालाजी रा कहिया, 8 leaves.

From the same MS. as C. 32.

C. 36 : डिङ्गुल रा सबद, 5 leaves.

From a MS. borrowed from Cāraṇa Āsiyō Pābū Dāna of Bhādiyāvasa.

C. 37 : राष्ट्र चन्द्रसेण रा रूपक बारठ आसा रा कहिया, 5 leaves.

From a MS. written towards the end of the Samvat-century 1600, borrowed from Mathena Jīva Rāja of Phalodhi.

C. 38 : जैनतीर्थमाला मेघराजकृत, 4 leaves.

From a MS. borrowed from the Jainācārya Dharmā Vijaya Sūri.

C. 39 : वाताँ मासवाड़ि रौ, 39 leaves.

From the MS. No. 15 (*g*) of *Descriptive Catalogue*, sect. i, pt. i.

C. 40 : काँगड़ा बलोच ओढाणी रौ वात, 4 leaves.

From a MS. written in Samvat 1766, borrowed from Vyāsa Mīthā Lāla of Pāli.

C. 41 : राव रियमल खावड़िया रौ वात, 8 leaves.

From a MS. written at Balūdò by Pandit Guna Candra about Samvat 1814, borrowed from Cāraṇa Jogajī of Dhāḍhāriyō.

C. 42 : गोगादेजी रौ रूपक आठा पहाड़खान रौ कहियौ, 24 leaves.

From a MS. borrowed from Cāraṇa Vanasūra Kirapā Rāma of Pāralāū.

C. 43 : पञ्चसहेली रा दूषा कवि कोइल रा कहिया, 5 leaves.

From the same MS. as C. 37.

C. 44 : डोला मारू रा दूङ्गा, 3 leaves.

From the same MS. as C. 41.

C. 45 : कवित ठाकुराँ सेरसिहंजी रा आठा पहाड़खान रा  
कहिया, 4 leaves.

From a MS. written in Samvat 1881, borrowed from Cāra-  
na Bāratha Rudra Dāna of Indokalī.

C. 46 : दातार सूर संवादौ, 3 leaves.

From a MS. written in Samvat 1863, borrowed from Cārana  
Lālasa Mūlō of Tolesara.

C. 47 : अकलगिड़ दाढाला रौ वात, 8 leaves.

From a MS. written at Pāli in Samvat 1810, borrowed  
from Candra Vijaya Sūri of Pāli.

C. 48 : अचलदास खौचौ रौ वात, 6 leaves.

From the same MS. as C. 41.

C. 49 : चौतोड़ रौ गजक, 3 leaves.

From the same MS.

C. 50 : कवित ऊमादे रा बारठ आसा रा कहिया, 3 leaves.

From the same MS. as C. 46.

C. 51 : चन्दनमिलियागिर रौ वात, 7 leaves.

From the same MS. as C. 41.

C. 52 : जोधपुर रा राठौड़ों रौ ख्यात, 144 leaves.

From the MS. No. 16 (first volume) of *Descriptive Cata-  
logue*, sect. i., pt. i.

C. 53 : अचलदास खौचौ रौ वात, 4 leaves.

From a MS. written in Samvat 1775, borrowed from Can-  
dra Vijaya Sūri of Pāli.

C. 54 : जोधपुर रा राठौड़ों रौ वंसावलो राजा जैचन्द सु  
महाराज जसवन्तसिंह तांडि, 9 leaves.

From the MS. No. 14 of *Descriptive Catalogue*, sect. i.,  
pt. i.

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*C. 55:* विमल नौ सिलोकौ, 3 leaves.

From a MS. about 100 years old, borrowed from Candra Vijaya Sūri of Pāli.

*C. 56:* भूलग्ना महाराणा प्रतापसिङ्गजी रा साँदु मालाजी रा कहिया, 4 leaves.

From a MS. about 150-200 years old, borrowed from Cāraṇa Sādū Rāma Pratāpa of Bhadorò.

*C. 57:* साँदु मालाजी रा फुटकर गीत, 9 leaves.

From the same MS.

*C. 58:* भूलग्ना अकवरु पातसाहजी रा साँदु मालाजी रा कहिया, 3 leaves.

From the same MS.

*C. 59:* भूलग्ना महाराज रायसिङ्गजी रा साँदु मालाजी रा कहिया, 5 leaves.

From the same MS.

*C. 60:* मारवाड़ि माहे राठौड़ रजपूत रावताँ रा उतन, 5 leaves.

From the MS. No. 15 (*h*) of *Descriptive Catalogue*, Sect. i, pt. i.

*C. 61:* अचलदास खोंचो रो वचनिका वण्डूर सिवदास रो कही, 13 leaves.

From a MS. written in Samvat 1918, borrowed from Cāraṇa Vaṇasūra Mahā Dāna of Jodhpur.

*C. 62:* कुण्डलिया ठाकुराँ खोंवकरणजी रा आठा पहाड़खान रा कहिया, 5 leaves.

From a MS. written before Samvat 1918, borrowed from Cāraṇa Bāratha Likhamī Dāna of Angadosa.

*C. 63:* जोधपुर रा राठौड़ाँ रो ख्यात, 91 leaves.

From the MS. No. 16 (second volume) of *Descriptive Catalogue*, sect. i, pt. i.

C. 64: ठोला मारवणी ही वात, 28 leaves.

From the same MS. as C. 62.

C. 65: अकलमिड़ वराह ही वात, 9 leaves.

From a MS. written at Barātiyō by Cēna Rāma about Samvat 1855, borrowed from Cāraṇa Sūraja Dāna of Khināvari.

C. 66: पदमणि चौपट्टे लखोदय कृत, 19 leaves.

From a MS. 50-100 years old, borrowed from the Jainācārya Dharma Vijaya Sūri.

C. 67: गोत राठोड़ शाजवंस ही पीठियाँ रा, 4 leaves.

From the same MS. as C. 56.

C. 68: जोधपुर रा राठोड़ों ही ख्यात सुख सुं महाशज  
अचितसिंहजी ताँई, 65 leaves.

From the MS. No. 11 (c) of *Descriptive Catalogue*, sect. i., pt. i.

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## APPENDIX.

### 1. THE e AND o SOUNDS IN MARWARI.

It is no exaggeration to say that in the Prākṛta, Apabhramṣa, Old Bhāṣā and Modern Bhāṣā languages, one of the most characteristic phonetical features is always found in the form taken by the two vowels *e* and *o*, and their diphthongal and compound representatives *ai*, *au* and *aī*, *aū*. In fact, the passing of *ai* and *au* into *e* and *o*, or *aī* and *aū*, is one of the chief characteristics distinguishing the Prākṛta and Apabhramṣa phonetical system from that of Sanskrit, whilst, on the other hand, the contraction of *ai* and *aū* into *e* and *o* is the most important phonetical feature of the Modern Bhāṣā, in comparison with the phonetics of all forms of speech belonging to the Apabhramṣa and Old Bhāṣā stage. In this connection, it is interesting to observe that of the four different stages in the development of the Modern Indo-Aryan Vernaculars, namely (1) the Sanskrit, (2) the Prākṛta-Apabhramṣa, (3) the Old Bhāṣā, and (4) the Modern Bhāṣā stage, the 3rd agrees with the 2nd in the elimination of the diphthongs *ai*, *au*, and the preservation of the hiatus in the vocalic combinations *ai* and *aū*. So, in the particular case of Māravārī, the contraction of *ai* and *aū* into *e* and *o*, becomes the chief characteristic distinguishing it from the Old Western Rājasthānī.

Before proceeding, I must correct a mistake into which I have incurred in my "Notes on the Grammar of the Old Western Rājasthānī, with special reference to Apabhramṣa and to Gujarātī and Māravārī."<sup>1</sup> I am hardly responsible for it, as when I wrote the "Notes," I had never been in India and for all information concerning pronunciation in Gujarātī and Māravārī, had completely to rely on the accounts given by others, which I afterwards found to be incorrect. In the first chapter of the aforesaid "Notes," I had stated that the *ai* and *aü* of Old Western Rājasthānī become ē, ö in Modern Gujarātī and *ai*, *au* in Modern Māravārī. This is inaccurate. In both Modern Gujarātī and Māravārī, the *ai*, *aü* of Old Western Rājasthānī become ē and ö.

What I mean by ē and ö is a wide sound of the *e* and *o* vowels, approximately, not exactly, corresponding to the wide sound of *a* in the English word "hat," and *o* in "odd." The difference is mainly in the quantity, the Māravārī vowels ē and ö being more prolonged in pronunciation than the corresponding vowels in the two English words quoted above. It is therefore, originally, a long wide sound. In contradistinction to it, Māravārī possesses also a narrow sound of the same vowels *e* and *o*, which I will mark by an acute accent, thus ē, ö. This sound corresponds to the sound of *a* in "care" and *o* in "old," and can be quantitatively both long and short—the latter case is very rare,—whereas the wide sound can be only long. Now, in Māravārī—and so in Gujarātī—the distinction between the wide and narrow sound of *e* and *o* is of primary importance. There are many words, which are identical in form and differ only in that one contains a wide *e* or *o* and the other a narrow one. It is strange that no Gujarātī grammarian has ever realized that the real difference between the two sounds of *e* and *o* in Gujarātī is not one of quantity, but one of quality. The case here is very analogous to that of French and Italian, where we also find two sounds of *e* and *o*, one narrow and the other wide.

In Modern Gujarātī there is nothing to distinguish the two different sounds of *e* and *o* in the writing. Both are represented by a single *mātrā*, thus : કે stays for both *kē* and *ké*, and કો for both *kò* and *kó*. In Old Māravārī manuscripts, though the distinction is by no means generally observed, there is a tendency to represent the wide sound by two *mātrās* and the narrow by a single *mātrā*. Thus : *kē* = કે, *ké* = કે, *kò* = કો, *kó* = કો. This tendency is evidently based on an orthographical tradition, and the history of the language shows that the Māravārī spelling is the correct one.

From an etymological study of all words which contain

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a wide or narrow *e* or *o*, the general law can be deducted that all Māravāṛī ēs and ḍs are derived from Apabhramṣa and Old Western Rājasthāni *ai* and *au*; whilst all ēs and ḍs are derived from Apabhramṣa and Old Western Rājasthāni *e* and *o*. Thus

Mār. એ < O.W. Rāj., Ap. એઠ ; Mār. એ < O.W. Rāj., Ap. એ ;  
Mār. ઓ < O.W. Rāj., Ap. એજ ; Mār. ઓ < O.W. Rāj., Ap. એજ.

A few examples will illustrate the law better :

Mār. એ “ is ” < O.W. Rāj. એટ < Ap. એચ્છાટ < Skt. એચ્છાનિ.

Mār. માણે “ over ” < O.W. Rāj. માયદ < Ap. માયદ < Skt. માયક,

Mār. ચકવૈ “ sovereign ” < O.W. Rāj. ચકબદ < Ap. ચકબદ < Skt.\* ચક્રપતિ,

Mār. વેડો “ seated ” < O.W. Rāj. વદ્ધાજ < Ap. ઉવદ્ધાજ < Skt. ઉપવિષકः,

Mār. પોતૌ “ grandson ” < O.W. Rāj. પોતાજ < Ap. પોતાજ < Skt. પૌત્રકः,

Mār. ઘોલુંવૈ “ conceals ” < O.W. Rāj. ઘાલાંવદ < Ap. ઘાલાંવદ < Skt. ઘપલપતિ,

Mār. દૌડૈ “ runs ” < O.W. Rāj. ડાડાર,

Mār. મૌડૌ “ slow ” < O.W. Rāj. માઢાજ < Ap. માઢાજ < Skt. માઢુકः,

Mār. બોરડૌ “ jujube ” < O.W. Rāj., Ap. બોરડૌ < Skt. બદર-ઠિકા,

Mār. મોર “ peacock ” < O.W. Rāj., Ap. મોર < Pkt. મજર < Skt. મયર,

Mār. રાકુરો “ o, thakurs ! ” < O.W. Rāj. રાકુરો < Ap. રાકુરચો,

Mār. કેલ્લ “ plantain ” < O.W. Rāj. કેલ્લા < Ap. કેલ્લો < Skt. કદળો,

Mār. રૂપદે “ Rūpade ” < O.W. Rāj. રૂપદે < Skt. રૂપદેવી,

Mār. જિકે “ who ” < O.W. Rāj. જિકે < Ap. જે કે < Skt.\* યે કે,

Mār. વેટે “ by the sons ” < O.W. Rāj. વેટે (< \*વેઠા) < Ap. વિદ્ધાચિં.

The distinction between ē, ḍ and é, ḍ is, therefore, a fundamental one, and is accounted for by the existence of an etymological law, the very same law which is the chief characteristic marking the passing of the Old Western Rājasthāni into Gujarāti and Māravāṛī. Thus of the two sounds of *e* and *o*, the narrow one seems to be as old as the Apabhramṣa, whilst the

wide one has originated only in the interval between the Old Bhāṣā and Modern Bhāṣā period. The corollary that can be deducted from the above, with special regard to the Old Western Rājasthānī, is that the ē, ḍ sound was unknown to this language, and consequently all es and os of the Old Western Rājasthānī were pronounced as narrow.

In my "Notes" above mentioned, I have held that the passing of the Old Western Rājasthānī vocalic groups *aī*, *aū* into ē, ḍ was effected simply through a process of contraction, that is through suppression of the hiatus, the intermediate step being the diphthongs *ai*, *au*. This was impugned by a distinguished Gujarātī scholar, N. B. Divatia, who proposed a different theory according to which *aī*, *aū* passed into ē, ḍ through an *anti-samprasāraṇa* process, the intermediate forms being *aya*, *ava*<sup>1</sup>. The reasons for which I cannot agree with Mr. Divatia's theory and still hold to my explanation are the following:—

(1) There are no sure instances of any *aī*, *aū* of the Old Western Rājasthānī having changed to *aya*, *ava* in any stage of the language. The three examples of this pretended change which are quoted by Mr. Divatia, viz. <वयर < वद्वर, वयरामी < वद्रामी, and पयसार < पद्सार, constitute no proof, when one knows that Old Western Rājasthānī manuscripts often write *ya* for *i*. Moreover, the two first examples are of a doubtful value, as they are *tatsamas* and the *aya* in them may be a corruption of Sanskrit ए instead of a modification of Old Western Rājasthānī एट्. There remains, therefore, only one example to sustain Mr. Divatia's theory, and even that one is infirmed by the orthographical peculiarity mentioned above.

(2) The change of *ava* to *aū* is one of the undoubted characteristics of the Old Western Rājasthānī, in contrast with the Apabhramṣa. Cfr. O. W. Rāj. कउडौ < Ap. कवडौ, O. W. Rāj. कउण < Ap. कवण, O. W. Rāj. गउख < Ap. गवख, O. W. Rāj. धउलूज < Ap. धवलूज, O. W. Rāj. नउमज < Ap. नवमज, etc. Now, it is not admissible that a language, which has begun its existence by reducing every *ava* of the Apabhramṣa to *aū*, should have brought *aū* back to *ava* again, in its later stage.

(3) The diphthongal forms *ai*, *au*, which I explain as being derived from *aī*, *aū*, are found in all the earliest manuscripts of both Gujarātī and Māravārī, and there can be no doubt that when *aī*, *au* began to be substituted for *aī*, *aū* in the writing, the latter were pronounced as diphthongs, and only afterwards were reduced to long wide vowels. If *aī*, *aū* had passed into *aya*, *ava* in the earliest Gujarātī-Māravārī stage, as Mr. Divatia holds, we do not understand why manuscripts—

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<sup>1</sup> See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLIV, Pt. DLII and DLVI, January and May 1915, and cfr. also N. B. Divatin's गुजराती भाषा नो जोडणौ, p. 6.

which otherwise show a tendency to write *ya*, *ra* for *i*, *u*—should only in this particular case make an exception and write *ai*, *au* instead of *aya*, *ava*.

In connection with the general law formulated above, it is further to be noted that *è*, *ò* are not the resultants of *aī*, *aū* only. Old Western Rājasthānī *aya* and *ahi* can also contract into *è*, and so can *ahu* into *ò*. All examples of the first case are Sanskrit or Prākṛta words. Take the few illustrations following: जे “victory” < जय, उमे “both” < उभय, गै “elephant” < मय, गैण “sky” < मयण, सोवनमे “golden” < सौवर्णमय, भे “fear” < भय, प्रलै “wordly destruction” < प्रलय, हे॒वर “horse” < हयवर, मे॒गलु “elephant” < मयकलु, पे॒वं “mountain” < पञ्चय. Here, in all probability, the passing of *aya* into *è* was effected through an intermediate step *aī*. The fact that in the manuscripts there seem to be no instances of any *aī* written for *aya* in similar cases, does in no way infirm the above explanation, but is easily accounted for by the remark that all words in which *aya* occurs, are *tatsamas*,<sup>1</sup> and therefore they continued to be written according to the traditional spelling.

The passing of *ahi* to *è* was also effected through *aī*, *h* being thrown back before the foregoing syllable, according to the well-known metathetical tendency of the Old Western Rājasthānī (“Notes,” § 51). Thus Old Western Rājasthānī पचिलउ passed into Gujarātī and Māravārī पूचेलौ through the intermediate form \*पूचइलौ. The same happened with regard to the *ahi* of Persian and Arabic words, and जहिर “poison” was turned into जहेर, and चहिर “city” (for चहर) into चहेर. Other illustrations of this change are the two following:

Mār. चहेर “wave” < O. W. Rāj. चहिरि, चहरि,

Mār. पूचेरावै “dresses” < O. W. Rāj. पहिरावट.

Quite analogously to the above, *ahu* has passed into *ò*, through metathesis of *h* and consequent coming into hiatus of the two vowels. Examples are:

Mār. पङ्कोर “watch of the day” < O. W. Rāj. पङ्कर, पुङ्कर,

पङ्कर,

Mār. च्छोड़ो “small” < O. W. Rāj. चङ्गड़उ.

Mār. च्छोर “golden coin” < Ap. मङ्गर, मुङ्गर.

Turning now to consider the *è*, *ò* sounds, we find that these also are not the resultants of Old Western Rājasthānī

<sup>1</sup> The term *tatsama* is used here in a wider sense than it is commonly understood. From the Old Western Rājasthānī point of view, not only Sanskrit words, but Prākṛta words also can be styled as *tatsamas*.

*e, o* only. Old Western Rājasthānī *i, u* are occasionally seen to pass into *é, ó*, and so are the vocalic groups *ea, oa*, both when in hiatus and when separated by *yaśruti* or *vaśruti*. As illustrations of the former case I may quote Māravārī वच्छै, which is from Old Western Rājasthānī वच्छौ, the conjunctive participle of वच्छृश्च generally used in the function of a conjunction, Diṅgala कवेसर from Old Western Rājasthānī कवीसर, and Māravārī—Gujarātī खाम from *tatsama* खूम. In connection with this change of *i, u* into *é, ó*, it is, however, to be remarked that it is not a peculiarity of Māravārī and Gujarātī, but instances of a confusion between these four vowels are not uncommon in Old Western Rājasthānī and Apabhramṣa as well. (Cfr. "Notes," § 7 (2).) Illustrations of *ea, oa* passing into *é, ó* are :—

Mār. देण “to give” < O.W. Rāj. देचण or देयण,

Diṅg. द्रुजोण “Duryodhana” < O.W. Rāj. द्रुजोचण or द्रुजोयण,

Mār. मण्डोर “Mandora” < O.W. Rāj. मण्डोचर or मण्डोयर,

Mār. मालदे “Mälade” < O.W. Rāj. मालदैव.

The last example is an irregularity, inasmuch as the *va* in वैच is not a *vaśruti*, but consonantal *ys* and *vs* are often treated as *yaśrutis* and *vaśrutis* even in Old Western Rājasthānī.

There remain still a few observations to be made in regard to the pronunciation of the *é, ó* vowels. They are not always pronounced in the same way. This had been already remarked by Sir George Grierson in his *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. IX, pt. ii, p. 4, and by Mr. Divatia in his paper cited above. The fact is that both Māravārī and Gujarātī show a tendency to pronounce *é* and *ó* less wide when they are final in a word, than when they are medial. Here by final I comprehend also an *é* or *ó* forming part of the penultimate syllable of a plurisyllable word ending in a quiescent *a*. Thus the *ó* in बेठौ “son” is never pronounced as wide as the *ó* in मौर “mirror,” nor are the *é*s in थोड़ै है “is sleeping” and वानेत “distinguished soldier” pronounced as wide as the *é* in नेढ़ौ “near.” Nay, and in some cases final *é* and *ó* are actually heard as narrow, as for instance in बौकानैर, which word—though नैर is from नयर—is always pronounced as बौकानैर. In Māravārī popular songs, है “is” is frequently pronounced है. It would therefore seem that the language has a tendency to prefer narrow vowels, and that the process which once converted Sanskrit गौरो into गोरो is still at work.

The practical conclusion I wish to draw from the above note, is one in regard to orthography. I have incidentally mentioned that Gujarātī does not distinguish *é, ó* from *é, ó* in

the modern system of spelling, whilst Māravāri sometimes writes એ, ઓ, and sometimes ઐ, ઔ. Etymology teaches us that in both the afore-mentioned languages we should write એ, ઓ to represent the wide sound e, o, and ઐ, ઔ to represent the narrow sound é, ó. Some Gujarātī grammarians have devised some awkward marks to distinguish é, ó from e, o, and their attempts to introduce them into general use and make them popular, have failed. Let them resort again to the old spelling ઐ, ઔ, which is not only the simplest, but also the only correct one.

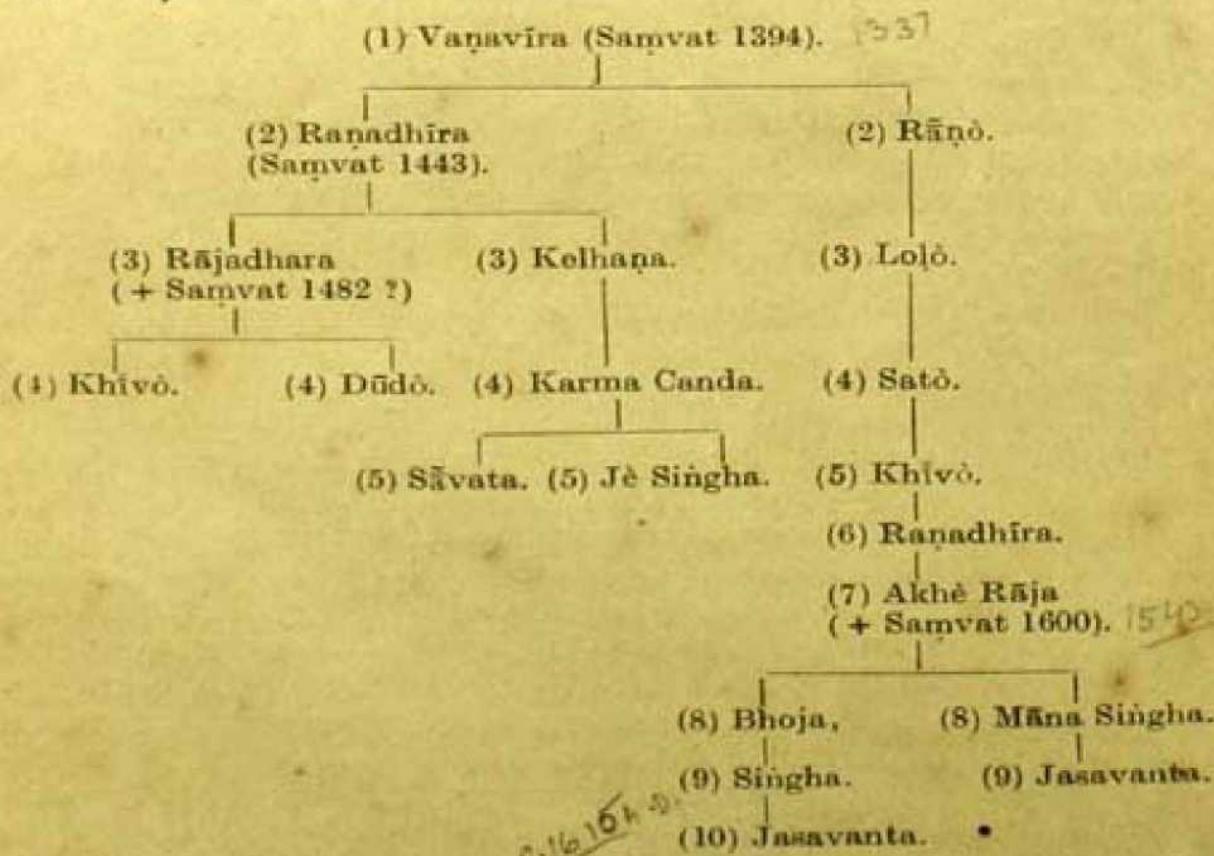
## 2. THE SONG OF JASAVANTA SONIGARÒ.

The following song belongs to the class of commemorative songs, which in the bardic literature of Rajputana are numbered by thousands and are generally found collected in manuscripts under the general title of *phutakara gīta*, or "miscellaneous songs." As the title implies, their subject may be a multiform one, and it may vary from a feat of gallantry to the grant of a village, and their character may also vary from eulogistical to satirical. A good many, not to say most, of these songs are anonymous, and have been handed down by tradition, the names of their authors having been lost. They are almost exclusively a production of the Cāraṇas, the high-class bards of the Rajputs, and most of them possess both a literary and historical interest.

The song of Jasavanta Sonigarò, which is given below, is one of those which commemorate a feat of bravery. Jasavanta, according to the explanatory note contained in MS. G, had gone to his wife's paternal house at Bhaṭanèra, the modern Hanumangadh, when a host of Muhammadans fell upon this city. Overcome by odds, the valiant Rajput had no other alternative left but die or surrender. Like every good Rajput, he chose the former, and to preserve his wife from the disgrace of falling into the hands of Muhammadans, cut off her head, which he suspended to his own neck, and in this way rushed into the thickest of the enemy throng and met a glorious death. This is the fact, which the Poet does not describe directly and plainly, however, but belabours in an imaginative way. Mahādeva has picked up the two heads from the field of battle and inserted them into his garland of skulls. When he goes back to Pārvatī, his wife, she notices the head of a woman amongst the others, which are all heads of warriors, and is naturally surprised at the strange discovery and inquires what the reason of it may be. At this point, one is tempted to find a resemblance between the fiction in this song and that in the admirable opening stanza in the *Mudrarāksasa*, where Pārvatī, stung with jealousy at seeing the Ganges on the head of her husband, asks him who the fair one is. But our Poet takes a different turn

here. Mahādeva explains that the head is that of the wife of Jasavanta, who unlike all other warriors, has given him two heads at one time. Pārvatī gets frightened : God forbid that my husband does the same to me !, but Mahādeva dispels her fears by the assurance, which sounds like a reproach, that he does not take the heads of cowards.

I have tried to identify the hero who forms the subject of the song, and ascertain his epoch, and have succeeded to an appreciable extent. The manuscripts, from which I have derived the Dīṅgāla text, do not supply any information concerning Jasavanta, except *G*, which has a few introductory lines, where it is stated that Jasavanta had married a Bhātī girl from Bhatanēra and was in this city when it was assailed by the Muhammadans, and on this occasion he fell in the fray in the manner related above. Much more precise information is supplied by the *Khyāta* of Mūhanōta Nēna SI. Here we can not only identify the personality of Jasavanta, but also trace his pedigree to Kirtipāla, the founder of the Sonigarā branch of the Cāhamāna tribe, to which he belonged. As the genealogical tree of the Sonigarās, as far as Raṇadhīra, who is mentioned in an inscription dated Samvat 1443 has been given by D. A. Bhandarkar in his paper "The Chahamanas of Marwar" <sup>1</sup>, I need report here only the portion of the genealogy which goes from Vanavira to Jasavanta :—





Of the two Jasavantas, with whom the above genealogy terminates, it is with the son of Siṅgha that our hero is to be identified. According to Mūhanōta Nēna Sī, he was a vassal of Rāthōra Dalapata Rāya Siṅhōta, and owned a fief in Bhātanēra. Dalapata, as we know, succeeded his father Rāya Siṅgha on the throne of Bikaner in Samvat 1668, and continued to rule till Samvat 1670, when he was dispossessed by his brother Sūra Siṅgha. Whether it was during Dalapata's reign that the battle, in which Jasavanta lost his life, took place, or whether it was afterwards, we do not know, but certain it is that the event took place about Samvat 1670 or shortly afterwards. If we are allowed to make a conjecture, it is not unlikely that, when Sūra Siṅgha marched against Dalapata with his own forces engrossed by an auxiliary army of imperials, Bhātanēra sided with Dalapata, and had to be reduced by the imperials, in consequence. If the conjecture is correct, the event commemorated by our song happened in the year Samvat 1670 or 1671 at the latest (1614-15 A.D.).

The date thus conjecturally arrived at, coincides with the period in which the author of the song lived. The name of the Poet is given only in one of the five manuscripts examined by me, namely *B.*, and it is Thākura Sī Colāvata. Though the caste, to which this Thākura Sī belonged, is in no way specified, yet from his patronymic, we have no difficulty in identifying him as a son of Colō, a famous Gādāṇa Cāraṇa who lived at Bikaner during the reign of Dalapata Siṅgha and his successor Sūra Siṅgha, and was rewarded by the latter with a *lākha-pasāva* in Samvat 1672.<sup>1</sup> The song must have been composed by Thākura Sī soon after the fall of Bhātanēra or, at the most, a few years after it.

For the edition of the text, which is given below, I have utilized the five manuscripts following :—

*B.* : A MS. of *Phutakara gīta*, in the Darbar Library of Bikaner (No. 5 of the Bardic Collection). Written in Samvat 1799 (see p. 221 b.) Our song is given p. 146 a, and contains only the stanzas following : 6, 7, 8, 9.

*G.* : A MS. in the form of a huge *vahī*, containing different prose-chronicles and miscellaneous historical information, belonging to the Kavirāja Cāraṇa Āsiyō Ganesa Dāna of Jodhpur. (The MS. is described in *Descriptive Catalogue*, Sect. i, pt. i, No. 11). Our song is given pp. 233b—234a, and it contains only the six stanzas following : 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. The pages containing the song were written, apparently, towards the end of the Samvat-century 1700.

*H.* : A MS. of *Phutakara gīta* belonging to Cāraṇa Āsiyō Hamira Dāna of Bhādiyāvasa. About 100 years old. The

<sup>1</sup> The above information is derived from the *Khyāta* No. 1 in the Darbar Library of Bikaner, p. 225 b (see *Descriptive Catalogue*, Sect. i, pt. ii).

song is given p. 101, and it contains only six and a half stanzas in the following order : 6, 7, 8, 9, 1, 2, 3.

*P* : A MS. of *Phutakara gīta* belonging to Cārana Āsiyō Pābū Dāna of Bhādiyāvasa. Also about 100 years old. The song, which is given p. 12a, contains only the four stanzas following : 1, 2, 4, 5.

*R* : A MS. containing the poems of Sādū Mālō and other miscellaneous songs, belonging to Cārana Sādū Rāma Pratāpa of Bhadorō. About 200 years old. The song is given pp. 107b—108a, and it contains only the five stanzas following : 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

In the text, which is given below, I have restored to their original form all the words which I have found to have been modernized in the MSS. The song was composed three hundred years ago, and it was, of course, composed in an archaic form of Diṅgaļa, not in the Diṅgaļa of the present day. Therefore, I have corrected राज into राजि, सच into सचि, सांभल्ल into सांभल्लि, कायर into कादर etc. This will not be approved by the Cāranas and scholars in Rajputana, but I could not allow myself to deviate from the most elementary canon in philology, according to which any literary work that is to be edited, should be presented in the same form in which it was originally composed by its author.

— (a) *Text :*

जुग पार पखै ग्या मुझ जोवताँ  
 राजि कन्है रहताँ दिन राति ।  
 आज स हार विचै ओपावी  
 जूनादेव नवौ आ जाति ॥ १ ॥  
  
 आहिव आहिव जतै आणिआ  
 सुज छँ जाणू दीठ सहि ।  
 कमला तयौ कमल है कम्या  
 केथ आणिआौ साच कहि ॥ २ ॥

(१) R आर (पार), G गा, H जोवतो, रहतो, H ओपावो, R आणिआौ, P को (आ) ;

(२) P सो (सुज), H सु जग घणा मे दीठ, HP चे (चे), H कांता, P केम प्रामोदो (केथ आणिआौ), H केम अुडोचो सोब किच ;

मन्ति रामाइगा सौस लिच्छा मै  
 आखै इस गवरि नै अेम।  
 जाइ आणिच्या तान्हि स जाणौ  
 कदे न आणै जाणौ केम ॥३॥

उतवंग घणा अगै हो आणत  
 नाथ कहै ए सौभलि नाहि।  
 देवगङ्गार न मिलिच्यौ दूजौ  
 सिंह समोभम जिसौ संसारि ॥४॥

आप तणौ चिच्य तणौ आणिच्यौ  
 भड़ भटनैर पड़न्ताँ भार।  
 सिर दोनुँ जसिचै सोनिगरै  
 दीधा मूझ वडे दातार ॥५॥

चरधङ्गा सिर कणिठ ओपिच्यौ  
 भिलताँ गठ विच्चि सार भर।  
 हरचरधङ्गा देखि थरहरौ  
 हर इणि पड़सौ रखे हर ॥६॥

वनिता करण बांधि गलि विटिच्यौ  
 हाथ दिखावे धीर हरै।  
 डरी तेण पासवतौ देखे  
 रखे कमालौ अेम करै ॥७॥

सौस घरणि चौ गलै माल समि  
 सिंह तणौ लडिच्यौ स जगोस।  
 सङ्कार घरणि देखि जे सङ्कौ  
 सङ्कार रखे लिचै मो सौस ॥८॥

- (१) R मह (मन्ति);  
 (२) R जसा (घणा), संभलौ निज नार, P जसौ (जिसौ);  
 (३) G तिय, P चौ आपरो, R ओपियो (आणिच्यौ), GPR सोनगरै, R दीना (दीधा);  
 (४) H चरधङ्ग (चरधङ्गा), BH कण चौस जसै उपावे, H भिडनै (भिलताँ), ते देख, B तिय देख, H पड़सौ इण, B रिषे;  
 (५) BH कमल (कण), विटनै, चिलोचियोज (हाथ दिखावे), B रिषे;  
 (६) H विटोच्यौ (लडिच्यौ), B विटोयो तु, BH तिय (जे), B तिये रिषे

सतौ सोनिगरौ मुचा घणौ सति  
 तौख घणौ देखाइ तिणि ।  
 काइर कमल न लाँ र्हे रुद कहि  
 रही डरपतौ रुद घरणि ॥ ६ ॥

(b) *Translation :*

1. "Innumerable ages have lapsed away under my eyes, while I was staying by your side night and day, (but) this is a new sort of thing you have to-day inserted into your garland, of Junādeva.

2. (The heads which you) got in all the different battles, I have seen them all, I think. (But this) head of a woman, o (my) beloved, where did you get (it) ? Tell (me) the truth."

3. "In the midst of a battle I have picked up (these two) heads,—thus sayeth the Lord to Gauri,—(and) you also know that (I) got (them by) going (to a field of battle). How can you think that I would ever omit to take (them) ?

4. I used to get many heads even before,—sayeth the Lord,—(but) hear o my wife : another donor like the son of Singha I never met in the world.

5. His own (head and that) of his wife the hero offered (to me), whilst the weight (of the hostile army) was falling on Bhaṭanēra. Both the heads Jasiyō Sonigarō gave to me, (he) the great donor.

6. The head of (his) wife was shining at (his) neck, whilst the weight of the (enemy) swords was penetrating into the stronghold."—At seeing (this), the wife of Hara began to tremble : "God forbid that (my) Hara (also) gets into a similar desire ! "

7. After tying the head of (his) wife to (his own) neck, the grandson of Dhira fought showing (the bravery of his) arm. At seeing this Pārvati was frightened : "God forbid that Kapāli (also) does so ! "

8. After adjusting to his neck his wife's head, (like) a garland (as it were), that (gallant) chief, the son of Siṅgha, fought. At seeing which, the wife of Śaṅkara got alarmed : "God forbid that Śaṅkara takes my head ! " <sup>1</sup>

(c) B सतौ जस्ते वे सुचा वडे, H जसो वे, B जास तणो मेलियो निष, H चौथ तने मेलो तण, B च्य रुद कहियो; H चु रुद कहीयो.

<sup>1</sup> It is difficult to avoid the suspicion that of the three stanzas 6-8, which contain the same and identical meaning, two might be spurious. But they are all found in the two oldest MSS.

9. "The Sonigarò and (his) faithful (wife) have died with great valour, and they have displayed a great determination. I do not take the heads of cowards!"—(Thus) spaketh Śāṅkara, and (Pārvatī), the wife of the terrible god, ceased to fear.

### 3. THE HISTORY OF PHALODHĪ AND THE LOCAL INSCRIPTIONS.

The oldest document in connection with the history of Phalodhī, that seems to be extant, is an inscription in the temple of Kalyāṇa Rāya, bearing the date Vikrama Samvat 1236 (= 1180-1 A.D.). From this inscription it appears that the old name of the place was something like *Vijayapura* or *Ajayapura*—the reading is doubtful—and that, at the time mentioned above, this city formed part of the territory of Vikramapura (Bikampur), and was under the rule of *rānā* Katia, a Pāvāra feudatory of *mahārāja* Prithī Rāja, the Cāhamāna ruler of Ajmer. This is in accordance with the tradition contained in the Jodhpur MS. 12,<sup>1</sup> where it is stated that the old name of the place was Vijayanagari and that it was in the hands of the Pāvāras. The same MS. 12 mentions an inscription dated Samvat 1145 and referring to *rājā* Hatha Deva Pāvāra, as existing in the temple of Kalyāṇa Rāya, but here, apparently, there is a mistake in the reading, and it is the aforesaid inscription that is meant by it. In the text of the inscription, *rānā* Katia is described as a son of the *mahāsāmanta* Pālhana, a Pāvāra of the Kaundinyasagotra. This Pālhana is in all probability the same as Pālhana Sī, the son of Sākhalō Chohala, the founder of the Rūnecā branch of the Pāvāras. According to Mūhanōta NēnaSī, Udaga, the son of Bhohō, a nephew of Chohala, was also one of the *sāmantas* of king Prithī Rāja.

The afore-mentioned inscription is possibly responsible for the origin of a legend referring to king Prithī Rāja, which is contained in a manuscript in the Darbar Library of Bikaner. The MS. dates as far back as the end of the Samvat-Century 1600, and is described in the *Descriptive Catalogue*, Sect. i., pt. ii, No. 2. The legend is found on pp. 37a-b of the MS. It says that there was a Dahiyāṇī maid, her name Ajiyā De, who was being taken to Ajmer to be married to king Prithī Rāja. On the way, the Dahiyās who escorted her, stopped in some part of the Jāgaṇū-country, and there Ajiyā De caused a stronghold to be made, which, after her own name, she called *Ajiyāpura*. In the course of time, Prithī Rāja came to

<sup>1</sup> *Descriptive Catalogue*, Sect. i., pt. i.

Ajiyāpura to hunt, and there he found Ajiyā De, whom he took with him to Ajmer. Afterwards the Dahiyās lost Jāgalū to the Sākhalās. The legend most probably originated from the above-mentioned inscription, in which there is a mention of king Prithī Deva and also of a city, the name of which can be read as [*śri*] Ajayapura. The statement that the Sākhalās were in possession of the country is, evidently, correct.

When the place changed its old name of Vijayapura, or Ajayapura, into that of Phalodhī, we do not know. According to *MS. 12*, Vijayanagarī was successively depopulated by famines and incursions of Muhammadans, till lastly it became completely deserted when the Pāvāras lost their domain of Bāhāramera. It was on the ruins of Vijayanagarī that the new city of Phalodhī was founded by *rāva* Narō. How far the above account is correct, it is difficult to say. Certain it is that the name of Phalodhī brings us back to a much earlier time than that of *rāva* Narō. *MS. 12* gives an explanation of the name of Phalodhī, which is grossly artificial. Phalodhī, as also proved by the inscriptions, is a derivation of *Phalavar-dhikā*, and there can be no doubt that the place had come to be called so long before *rāva* Narō settled there.

*All the Jodhpur Chronicles agree in tracing the Rāthōra colonization of Phalodhī back to the time of *rāva* Sūjō*, who was born in Samvat 1496 and succeeded to his brother Sātala on the throne of Jodhpur from Samvat 1546 to 1572.<sup>1</sup> The task of colonizing the place fell to Narō, the younger of the two sons Sūjō had had from his Bhatiyānī wife Likhamī, alias Sāraṅga De. According to the most popular account, it was after a serious quarrel Narō had with Udo, one of his step-brothers, that Sūjō resolved to send the former away, and gave him Phalodhī, where he established himself. Whatever amount of truth there may be in this statement, and there seem to be no reasons for suspecting it, we certainly need not resort to an incident of that kind to find an explanation for Narō's emigration. That was a period when the enormous growth of the progeny of Sihō, coupled with their increasing power and ambition of conquest, made it imperative for any prince of some enterprise who could not sit on the throne of his father, to find out a domain for himself in some unconquered part of the country. This fact is evidently implied in another version—the one contained in *MS. 12*—, according to which Sūjō sent Narō towards the West to inhabit some depopulated land. Narō went and discovered the vestiges of the old Vijayanagarī and the bed of the river, and decided to settle there. The place was deserted, but for a small spot, 400 feet from the modern fort, on the way to Khicūda, which was

<sup>1</sup> Some chronicles give slightly different dates.

named *Phulūdhī rō vāsa* from *Phulūdhī*, a Pallivāla brāhmaṇi who had come to live there. It is after the name of this brāhmaṇi that Narō called the new city Phalodhī. I have already dealt with the value of this explanation. MS. 12 proceeds to describe how the new city was inhabited. It was Narō's good luck that just in those days a certain Sidhu Kalō, formerly an inhabitant of Āsanikota in the territory of Jesalmer, owing to a difference he had with the *rāvāla*, left his country and emigrated eastwards with a train of 140 cars and a great numbers of followers. When he halted at Phalodhī, Narō entreated him to remain there, and he eventually accepted and populated the new city.

The chronicles give no date for Narō's settlement at Phalodhī. But from the inscription found under the porch of the innermost gate of the fort, which is dated Samvat 1532 (see inscr. No. 2, below), we can conclude that it took place some time before this date. From the same inscription it also appears that the inmost enclosure of the fort was not erected by *rāva* Hamīra, as is generally believed, but by Narō himself. The tradition says that Narō was not satisfied with the possession of Phalodhī, a city deficient in water and gardens and situated in the midst of an arid desert, and looked with covetous eyes to the neighbouring Pohakarana, ready to avail himself of the first opportunity for occupying it. Meanwhile, *rāva* Sātala had been killed at Kosānō—it was the year Samvat 1546—and as he had no sons, his brother Sūjō, the father of Narō, had succeeded him on the throne of Jodhpur. Sātala had founded Sātalamera,<sup>1</sup> some 5 miles from Pohakarana, and since during his lifetime he had adopted Narō as his son, it is probable that at his death, if not before, the latter added Sātalamera to his domain of Phalodhī. So he was knocking at the very door of Pohakarana. This city was, at the time, in the hands of Rāthōra *rāva* Khīvō, the son of Varajāga Durajana Sālōta. Narō had not long to wait for his opportunity. All accounts agree in showing that it was by surprise he was able to carry out his ambitious design. He had some spies at Pohakarana—Mūhanōta Nēṇa Si says his chief instrument was his own *piro-hita*,—and when these one day reported to him that Khīvō had gone to a feast at Ugarāsa, he lost no time and at the head of his horsemen fell upon Pohakarana and occupied it. According to the tradition, the fort of Pohakarana had no doors at the time.

The conquest of Pohakarana brought no good luck to Narō. The dispossessed *rāva* Khīvō and his son Lūkō sought a refuge in the neighbourhood of Bāharamera and Kotarō and from there

<sup>1</sup> According to the Bhāti chronicles, Sātalamera was founded by Sātala, the son of *rāvāla* Kehara.

started making inroads and pillage in the country all around. On one occasion, they fell with a great force on Sātalamera and carried away the kine that were grazing outside the city. Narō ran to the rescue, and overcame the raiders near Nādānā-hāī, but in the struggle that ensued, lost his life. His followers fled and locked themselves up in the fort of Pohakarāna. Sūjō made an expedition to vindicate the death of his son and, being unable to catch Khivō and Lūkō, appeased his anger by sacking Bāharamera, Kotarō, Khāri and Niļavō. Then he gave Pohakarāna and Phajodhī to Goyanda, the son of Narō.

It is stated that when Goyanda was installed on the seat of his father, he was still a boy, and Sūjō had to place him under the tutelage of *emirs* or *thānedārs*, who for four or five years never allowed him to take the field. In the meantime, Khivō died, whilst Lūkō continued to raid and pillage the country aided by a large band of followers. One day Lūkō ventured as far as the *dehurō* of Rāma De, near Pohakarāna; Goyanda ran after him and overtook him at Kodhanō, where a fight ensued in which 140 Pohakaraṇās bit the dust. Lūkō himself was reduced to great straits and was fleeing pursued by Goyanda, when he lost the garment that covered his loins. At the sight of his elderly relative fleeing half-naked, Goyanda was moved to a sense of pity and respect, and, says the chronicler, shouted to him to stop, that he would not kill him, and wrapped him in his own garment. Then he took him to Sātalamera and reconciled him and generously gave him half of his possessions, namely the territory of Bhuniyāṇō with 30 villages, whilst he kept for himself Sātalamera and Pohakarāna, also with 30 villages. I need hardly point out that all this story is an absurd fiction. The obvious fact, which is contained in it, is that Lūkō, with his continuous incursions, was a cause of immense trouble and anxiety, and Goyanda had no other alternative left but give him some territory to set him at rest. It appears that Goyanda had chosen Sātalamera for his capital. According to MS. 12, that was for Sātalamera a period of great prosperity, the city at the time numbering not less than 500 houses of *mahājanas*.

Then, continues the chronicler, Goyanda gave Phajodhī to his younger brother Hamīra. It is clear enough that this second act of generosity on the part of *rāva* Goyanda, is at least as absurd as the first. If there is some truth in the statement that Goyanda was a boy when Narō was killed, and that he was placed by Sūjō under a tutelage, it is probable that Sūjō himself arranged for Goyanda to inherit Pohakarāna and Sātalamera, and for Hamīra to inherit Phajodhī. This supposition is corroborated by the fact that Goyanda is never mentioned in connection with Phajodhī and there is absolutely no evidence that he ever ruled there. On the contrary, there

are inscriptional documents showing that Hamira was ruling at Phalodhī at least as early as the year Samvat 1573. Another argument in favour of the above supposition, is in the tradition that Goyanda and Hamira had a difference between each other in connection with the boundaries dividing their respective territories. The question was settled by the interference of their grandmother Likhamī, and it was agreed that the line of demarcation should run through the *Thorākunthī rī magarī*, near Khārl.

Hamira is the ruler of Phalodhī who has left the most illustrious name in the local tradition. Though the foundation of the fort dates at least as far back as the time of Narō, yet the tradition is that it was built by *rāva* Hamira.<sup>1</sup> MS. 12 states that Hamira erected the *kota* in the year Samvat 1555—the date is probably incorrect—and the gates in the year Samvat 1573. The latter date is confirmed by the inscription No. 3 (see below). Besides, Hamira is said to have digged inside the fort a well (*kōhara*), which in the course of time was filled up, and outside the fort a tank which after him was called *Hamīrasara*. Again, the most conspicuous building that to this day is extant inside the fort, is designated as “the palace of Hamira.” He also enlarged his territory, by taking from the Bhātīs Kundala and Kīraro.

I have not been able to ascertain any precise date for the death of Hamira, but from the indirect evidence supplied by the fragmentary inscription No. 4, which apparently refers to his successor, we can conclude that he must have died before the year Samvat 1589. He was succeeded by his son Rāma (Singha). Of this *rāva* the chronicles say very little, beyond the general statement that he was a man of great determination. He digged the *Rāmasara* tank to the west of the city, and the work was apparently completed in the year Samvat 1589. In the year Samvat 1600, Rāma was with his contingent in the army, which *rāva* Māla De of Jodhpur had brought against Šer Šāh, who had invaded Marwar. On that occasion, Rāma did not join in the onslaught which cost the life to Jētō, Kūpo and other chiefs, but moved off his tents after *rāva* Māla De, and it is stated that for this reason the latter took to dislike him. Rāma did not survive longer than one or two years after the aforesaid event. The chronicles say that he was poisoned by his own minister, Jaga Hatha Depāvata, and the fact is recorded in a commemorative verse, the meaning of which—though the reading of the text is somewhat doubtful—seems to be as follows:—“O Jaga Hathiya! thou art a shameless man! After murdering (our) pearl of a *rāva*, thou weptest him!

<sup>1</sup> Chronicle C. 39 (see List of MSS. Copied, above) represents *rāva* Hamira as the actual founder of Phalodhi.

With the death of Rāma was lost the *rāva*-ship, and the *thākura*-ship also fled away.”<sup>1</sup>

Rāma was succeeded by his brother Dūgara Sī. It is difficult to refrain from the suspicion that he was the ultimate author of the murder of Rāma, and such a suspicion seems to be further confirmed by the fact that Jaga Hatha continued to occupy his high office under the new *rāva*. But it must be observed that a superstitious populace is always only too ready to attribute to poison any sudden death that may occur from a natural cause; and on this ground it would be unjust to throw on Dūgara Sī a blame which has no other foundation except on a mere rumour. However things may be, Dūgara Sī, who eventually was not a man of such energy as his brother, could not enjoy long his power, nor save his domains from the astute cupidity of *rāva* Māla De of Jodhpur, who was on his watch, ready to avail himself of the first opportunity for seizing Phalodhī and adding it to the fisc, as he had done with many other fiefs of Marwar. This time, the means employed by the *rāva* of Jodhpur were even more unfair and unscrupulous than on other occasions. The legend is that he invited Dūgara Sī to his quarters to take part in the Holt-sports, and then captured him unarmed and unsuspecting, after blinding him with a handful of *gulāla*. Then he fell with an army over Phalodhī, thinking he would find it an easy prey, but Jaga Hatha Depāvata had assembled his forces in the fort and prepared for a stubborn resistance. *Rāva* Māla De had to lay a regular siege, and five months passed and yet there were no signs that the fort was going to capitulate.

During the siege, the *rāva* of Pohakarana, Jēta Māla, who had succeeded his father Goyanda since the year Samvat 1582, knowing that the ambitious Māla De would not be satisfied with Phalodhī, but march next against Pohakarana and Sātalamerā, tried to create a diversion and possibly relieve the besieged fort, but was unsuccessful. He had married a daughter of the *rāvala* of Jesalmer, and it is from this chief he obtained a contingent of Bhātīs, under the command of *kūvara* Hara Rāja. With this contingent, engrossed by some other forces, *rāvata* Bhīvō, a subject of Jēta Māla, marched on Phalodhī, but on nearing Māla De’s camp, realized the difficulty of the task and resolved to withdraw after raiding the camels in the neighbourhood. Māla De sent after him Jēsō Bhēravadāsōta with a body of horsemen, and the raiders were overtaken and decimated. *Rāvata* Bhīvō was taken prisoner by Prithī Rāja Jētāvata. *Rāva* Māla De at last succeeded in occupying Phalodhī,

<sup>1</sup> The text, as I have reconstructed it from the very incorrect reading of MS. 12, runs as follows:—

जगच्छिष्ठा तु निष्ठजुद्धो । राज मारे रत्न द्वजो ।  
राम मरनी गई राई । गई भाग डाकुराई ॥ २ ॥

but only with the help of Dūgara Sī who bartered his personal liberty with the sovereignty of the place. It is related that Dūgara Sī was taken under the ramparts of Phalodhī, and there shouted to brave Jāga Hatha to open the gates to Māla De. Jaga Hatha obeyed and Māla De entered the fort, which —says *MS. 12*—he kept for 15 years, till his death which occurred in Samvat 1619. It would therefore seem that Phalodhī fell into the hands of Māla De about the year Samvat 1604.

*Rāva* Māla De left two sons, by his Jhālī wife Sarūpa De : Candra Sena and Udē Siṅgha. The former succeeded his father on the throne of Jodhpur, and the latter inherited Phalodhī. The facts in the long period of struggle and unrest that goes from the death of Māla De to the final establishment of Udē Siṅgha as the only and undisputed ruler of Marwar, belong more to the history of Jodhpur, generally, than that of Phalodhī. But Phalodhī had a great part in the first period of the struggle. It was from Phalodhī Udē Siṅgha made on Ghāghānī that bold raid, which was promptly and severely retaliated by Candra Sena and would have cost Udē Siṅgha his life, but for the devotion of Khīcī Hadō and the wisdom of the Rajputs who did not allow Candra Sena to pursue and kill his own brother. In the year Samvat 1627 Udē Siṅgha sustained another serious defeat at Kundāla at the hands of Dūgara Sī, the Bhāti ruler of Vikamapura. The cause of the contest was a caravan from Bikaner, which both Dūgara Sī and Udē Siṅgha wanted to make pass through their own cities, to have the benefit of exacting toll. The last-mentioned fact and the fact of the raid alluded to above, combine to show that Phalodhī was not in a prosperous condition when in the hands of Udē Siṅgha. The defeat of Kundāla eventually made those conditions worse, for, it is stated, Udē Siṅgha was not able to take shelter in the fort of Phalodhī, but had to retire and the Bhātis plundered the country. Four years afterwards Phalodhī fell into the hands of Bhākhara Sī, a son of *rāvala* Hara Rāja, and remained under him till the year Samvat 1635, when Akbar gave it to *rājā* Rāya Siṅgha of Bikaner.

The rule of the *rājā* of Bikaner marks for Phalodhī a period of peace and prosperity. Rāya Siṅgha first sent to govern the city the Rāthōra Kādhala Māla De Vaṇavirōta, and later the Mūhanōta Karma Canda Sāgāvata, who brought to Phalodhī a number of new settlers from Bikaner. It seems that the outermost wall enclosure of the fort had its foundations laid by *rājā* Rāya Siṅgha, whose name is recorded in the oldest of the inscriptions incised on the same wall (*inscr. No. 5*, of Samvat 1650). Phalodhī remained under Bikaner for nearly forty years, till in Samvat 1672 Jahāngir assigned it to *rājā* Sūraja Siṅgha of Jodhpur, as an allotment equivalent to the sum of Rs. 6,75,000 (*MS. 12*). Sūraja Siṅgha deputed to govern the place the Mūhanōta Jē Mala—the father of Nēna Sī, the

famous chronicler—as *hākim*, and the Cāhamāna Sikharò as *thānedār*. But after two years, Sūraja Singha asked the emperor to resume the *pargana* of Phalodhī, probably because he did not find it sufficiently remunerative, whereupon the emperor assigned it to *rājā* Sūra Singha Rāyasinghōta of Bikaner. What followed affords us a conspicuous example of the jealousy then existing between the Rāthōras of Jodhpur and the Rāthōras of Bikaner, in spite of their being kindred in blood and descendants from a common ancestor. Sūra Singha had hardly arranged for a *hākim*, in the person of Mūhanōta Bhāga Canda Karmacandōta, to go and take possession of Phalodhī, that Sūraja Singha of Jodhpur, rather than see the place go to enlarge his rival's territory, resolved to retain it, and immediately despatched to Phalodhī his eldest son *kāvara* Gaja Singha, with instructions for *hākim* Jē Mala not to consign the fort to anybody, as he had decided not to surrender his native place and was going to write to the emperor to have Phalodhī re-assigned to himself. This he did, and so Phalodhī was restored back to Sūraja Singha.

When Sūraja Singha died, in the year Samvat 1676, Phalodhī did not pass to his successor Gaja Singha, but remained in the possession of Sabala Singha, a son Sūraja Singha had had from his Aherī wife, Sulatāna De. Probably Sabala Singha had been assigned Phalodhī in fief by his father, some time before the latter's death. During the rule of Sabala Singha, which seems to have been a very brief one, Phalodhī once fell into the hands of the Muhammadans, but was eventually recovered. In the year Samvat 1680, or, according to MS. 12. 1679, Phalodhī was added to the *khālisā* of Gaja Singha and except for a few temporary changes has ever since continued in the possession of the *mahārājas* of Jodhpur. In Samvat 1863 it was for a second time added to the domains of Bikaner by *mahārāja* Sūrata Singha, who retained it till Samvat 1865. The history of Phalodhī from the time of Gaja Singha to our days is too mixed with that of Jodhpur and unimportant to deserve any special notice.

Let us now turn to the study of the most noteworthy inscriptions which are extant at Phalodhī and serve to illustrate the concise historical sketch given above. They are the following:—

**INSCR. NO. I:** An inscription incised on the left pillar of the inner shrine in the temple of Kalyāna Rāya. It consists of 28 lines of writing covering a space of  $24\frac{1}{2}$ " high by  $14\frac{1}{2}$ " to  $13\frac{1}{2}$ " broad. The text is in a mixture of corrupt Sanskrit and Bhāṣā, and the writing very incorrect and illegible at some points. The chief orthographical peculiarities of the inscription are: the representing of the *virāma* by the diacritical sign for *u*, and the writing of *॥* for initial *॥*, and *॥* for *॥* and *॥*.

The inscription is dated in the year [Vikrama-] Samvat 1236, the 10th day of the bright fortnight of the first month of Asā-



*dha*, Wednesday, and refers to the reign of *mahārāja Prithiva Deva* and the *mandaleśvara rānā Katia*. Then it records some privilege granted by the latter—who is further described as a Pāvāra of the Kaundinyasagotra and a son of *Pālhana*—to the temple (?) of Lokeśvara at *Vijaya (?) pura*, in the territory of *Vikramapura*. The text of the record proper ends l. 15, the last lines containing only bare names, apparently of witnesses. As already explained above, *Prithiva Deva* seems to be the same as *Prithī Rāja*, the Cāhamāna king of Ajmer, and *rānā Katia*, one of his feudatories. It also appears that the latter was ruling over *Vikramapura* (*Bikampur*), and that the old name of the place where the temple stands, was *Vijayapura* (?), and it was included in the territory of *Vikramapura*. It is, however, to be remarked that there is some doubt in the reading of the word *Vijayapura*, the text actually having *Viajayapura*.



1 For संघ.

<sup>2</sup> As the Sanskrit in the present as well as the following inscriptions is very corrupt, and in most cases so mixed with the Bhāṣā that it is impossible to make it agree with any grammatical standard, it has seemed desirable to give the text as it stands, and refrain from burdensome notes and amendments.

INSCR. No. 2 : An inscription incised on the base of a pillar in the porch of the third, or inmost, gateway of the fort, at the left. It consists of 12 lines of writing and covers a space of  $16\frac{1}{2}$ " high by  $9\frac{3}{4}$ " broad. Written in a corrupt mixture of Sanskrit and Bhāṣā. Letters very badly engraved and several of them utterly indecipherable.

The inscription is dated in the year [*Vikrama-*] *Samvat* 1532, the 2nd (?) day of the dark fortnight of *Vaiśākha*, Monday, and refers to the reign of *Nara Singha De*, the son of the *Rāthavāra rāya śrī Sūrija Mala*. Though a good part of the text is unintelligible, yet it is clear that the object of the inscription is to record that the erection of the gate in question was completed on the date above given, and the fort was also contemporaneously repaired. It would therefore seem that the fort had been built some years before *Samvat* 1532. Of the names given, *Nara Singha De* is the entire name of *Narō*, and *Sūrija Mala* the entire name of *Sūjō*, his father. *Rāthavāra* is evidently the same as *Rāthōra*.

1. ॥—०॥ संवत् १५३२ व-
2. ॥ ष्ठै वैसाख वदि २ (?) सोम-
3. ॥ दिने राठवड राय श्री-
4. ॥ सूर्यिज[म]लसुत नर-
5. ॥ सौंघदे राज्य प्रोलि प्र-
  
- वन
6. ॥ साद मस्त(?)गर श्री-
7. ॥ वड आसा चाहवाण
8. ॥ [दे]वरा । करियाइत
9. ॥ भ(?)र— मह-शा
10. ॥ सुत भोजा गठ उ-
11. ॥ धरितं कलाण [मंग]-
12. ॥ [लं] भवतु श्री— ॥ .

INSCR. No. 3 : An inscription incised on the left pillar of the outer gateway of the fort. It consists of 9 lines of writing, covering a space of  $7\frac{1}{2}$ " high by  $18\frac{1}{2}$ " broad. Written in corrupt Sanskrit. Characters neatly engraved and well preserved.

The inscription opens with the date *Vikrama-Samvat* 1573, the 10th day of the bright fortnight of the month of *Mārgaśira*, Thursday, and then it records that the pillars of the above-men-



tioned gate—which was erected by *mahārāya Hamīra*, the son of *mahārāja Nara Singha* of the *Rāstrakūta* family—were repaired in that year. Next follow the names: *pirohita Divākara*, *Cāhavāna Selahatha Īdhā*, *Bhāti Nibā*, *mantriśvara Gaṅgū*, and *mantriśvara Devā*, and also the name of the architect, *Dhanāka*, son of *Lākhā*. Lastly, there comes a stanza on the instability of fortune, the same stanza with which the inscription No. 1 begins.

1. ॥ ८० ॥ श्रीरामाय नमः स्तुति श्रीविक्रमाक्समयातौतसंवत् १५७३  
व्रथः
2. मागसिरमासे सुकलपद्मे १०. तिथौ गुरुवारे अश्विनीनक्षत्रे  
रवियोगे दिना
3. ई सिवयोगे इदृशे महामांगल्यमये शुभमहृत्ते राष्ट्रकूटवंशे  
महाराजश्रीनरसिंघ-
4. एत भवाप्रतापीक दाता भोक्ता सौभाग्यसुंदर भोगपुरुंदर प्रजा-  
पालक सेवकपोषक वय-
5. श्रीवर्गद[म]नः स्तकौयवर्गपालनः महारायश्रीहमीरः काहित  
प्रतोक्तीस्तंभ ऊधरिताः पुरोहि-
6. त दिवाकर चहवाण सेलहृष्ट ऊधाः भाटौ नीवाः मंत्रीश्वर गंगः  
मंत्रीश्वर देवाः घटितः सूत्रधारः
7. लाषा पुच सर्ववास्तुशास्त्रनिषया सूत्रधार धंगाकेन शुभं भवतुः  
वज्रीर गोवनः ॥ श्री
8. मांधाता स महीपति छतयुगालंकारभूतौ गतः (१\*) सेतुर्येन  
महोदधौ विश्चितः कासौ दण्डास्यात्कात् (१\*)
9. अन्ये चापि युधिष्ठिरः प्रभृतयो सर्वपि चाल्तं गताः (१\*) नैकेन अपि  
समं गता वसुमतौ मन्ये त्वया यास्यति (१\*).

INSCR. NO. 4 : A very short and apparently fragmentary inscription, incised on a *kīrtistambha*, in red sand-stone, erected on the brim of the *Rāṇisara* tank. It comprises only 5 lines of writing, covering a space of 9" high by 10" broad. Written in corrupt Sanskrit.

The record simply consists of a date, [Vikrama-] *Samvat* 1589, the 9th day of the bright fortnight of *Bhādravā*, Sunday,

and a name, namely *mahārāya Sūrija Mala* of the *Rāthavara* family. No mention of the particular fact, which the *kirtistambha* was originally meant to record. An explanation, which easily suggests itself, is that the fact meant to be recorded is the digging of the tank, close to which the *kirtistambha* stands. In such a case, the inscription must be taken to be incomplete, and refer not to *Sūrija Mala*,—who was dead since Samvat 1572,—but to some of his successors, probably *Rāma Singhā*, who, according to the local tradition, dug the *Rāmasara* tank, to the west of the town. The name of *Sūrija Mala* ought therefore to be followed by that of *Nara Singhā*, his son, and *Hamira*, *Nara Singhā*'s son, and lastly *Rāma Singhā*, *Hamira*'s son. The strange is that no letters seem to have been erased at the end of the inscription, and therefore it must be assumed that the writing was left unfinished by the engraver himself.

1. ॥ संवत् १५८८ वर्षे: भाद्र-
2. ॥ वा शुदिः ६ दिने: ई[६]व-
3. ॥ वारे: राठवडवंशे: [म]-
4. ॥ हाराय श्रीसूरि[ज]-
5. [॥] मलः

**INSCR. NO. 5 :** An inscription incised on a stone on the outer wall of the fort, consisting of 7 lines of writing and covering a space of 8½" high by 16" broad. Written in the usual corrupt mixture of Sanskrit and Bhāsā. Letters very deeply engraved and consequently broken in some places.

The inscription opens with the date [*Vikrama-*] *Samvat* 1650, the 9th day of the bright fortnight of *Asādha*, *Sunday*, and refers to the reign of *mahārājādhirāja mahārāja Rāya Singhā* [of Bikaner], under whom the *bhuraja*, on which the inscription stands, was built. Last follow the names of *khavāsa Gopāla*, superintendent *Singhavi Likhāmī Dāsa*, architect, etc.

1. संवत् १६५० वर्षे आसा[ठ]मा[से] शू[क्तप]क्ते नवम्यां तिथौ ई-
2. ववारे घटिका ५१ चि[चा]नक्तके घटिका १ ऊ[प] ॥
3. इंत स्वतिनिक्तके महाराजाधिराज महाराजा श्रीश्री
4. श्रीहायसिंघजी वि[जइ]रा[ज्ये] । फल[व]र्धि[कानगर] सु-
5. रञ्ज कराविता । ह[स्ते] घवास गोपाल । व(?)रानी(?)[---]वा-
6. ठ () पीथा [सं]घ[वी] लिखमौदास ऊपरठाई जगा सु-
7. चधार साहिवदी । हरषा लिखतं सीढा ॥.

INSCR. No. 6: An inscription in a *bhūmigr̥ha* in the Jaina temple of Śāntinātha, in the Phalodhī town, carved on a marble slab in the wall. It consists of 9 lines of writing, covering altogether a space of 7½" high by 15½" broad. Written in mixed Sanskrit and Bhāsā. Well preserved.

The object of the inscription is to record that in the year [Vikrama-] *Samvat* 1689, the 13th day of the bright fortnight of Mārgaśīra, Wednesday, during the victorious reign of mahārājādhīrāja mahārāja Gaja Simha [of Jodhpur], and his son mahārājakumāra Amara Simha, and while the Munanōtra Jaya Māla was holding the office of *mantriśvara*, the temple of Śāntinātha was repaired by the common accord of the *sangha*. At the end, the names are given of the superintendent on the work, architects and stone-carver.

1. ॥ ८० ॥ श्रीगजाधिपतये नमः ॥ ॥ संवत् १६८९ वर्षे मागसिर-  
मासे शु-
2. क्लपच्छे । त्रयोदशीतिथौ । बुधवासरे । महाराजाधिराजमहाराज
3. श्रीगजसिंहजी महाराजकुमार श्रीअगसिंहजी विजयराजे ।  
मुहण्डोच-
4. गोचे । मन्त्रोद्धर श्रीजयमालजी विश्वामाने । श्रीतपागढे ।  
श्रीफलवद्धिकान-
5. गरे । श्रीसमस्तसिंह (*sic*) मिली श्रीशांतिनाथप्राप्ताद जीर्ण-  
उद्धार कारिता । वैद्य-
6. गोचे । मु[०] श्रीपाल । जेठाजी उपरठाइ उद्यम करी प्राप्ताद  
उद्धारिता । सूत्रधार
7. आगंद हर्षा सुत फलवधीया । सूत्रधार साह अली मांमदी  
कमालदी महमद बीकानेरीय
8. सर्व जगा २[०] प्राप्ताद कृत ॥ श्रीबहुतखरतरगढे । वा०  
श्रीसौहा शिष्य वस्ता लियौ कृत
9. ॥ शुभं भवतु ॥ ॥ कल्याणमस्तु ॥ ॥ श्रीरस्तु ॥ श्री ॥ श्री ॥

INSCR. No. 7: An inscription in the same *bhūmigr̥ha* and the same temple as the foregoing, and also carved on the same material. It consists of 10 lines of writing, covering a space of 5½" high by 12½" broad. Written partly in corrupt Sanskrit and partly in Rājasthānī Bhāsā. Fairly preserved.

The inscription has the same object as the preceding one, and also bears the same date, [Vikrama-] Samvat 1689, and makes the same reference to *mahārājādhirāja Gaja Singhā* and his son, *yuvarāja kūvāra Amara Singhā*. But it contains in addition the name of the then *Tapāgacchanāyaka*, the *ācārya Vijaya Deva Sūri*, and those of the *ācārya Vijaya Singhā Sūri*, and the *pandit Jīta Vijaya Gani* and his pupil *Vinaya Vijaya Gani*. It was as a result of *Vinaya Vijaya Gani's* preaching, during a rainy season when he halted at Phalodhī, that the *sangha* were persuaded to take upon themselves the expenditure involved by the repairs to the old temple of Śāntinātha. Next comes a short praise in recognition of the great pains taken by the superintendent on the work; and lastly the name is given of the *setha* who sustained the expenses of the festivity of the installation of the image of Śāntinātha in the newly rebuilt temple.

1. ॥ ८० ॥ श्रीपरमेश्वरजी सत्य कहि । राठोडकुलउद्योतका-
2. इक महारा[जा\*]धिरा[ज\*] श्रीगजपांघजी राजे । युवराजा  
कुंवार
3. श्रीचमरशिंघजी सं० १६८९ वर्षे तपागक्षे भट्टा(?)क श्रीविजय-  
देवसू[री]-
4. स्वर । आचार्य श्रीविजयशिंघसूरीस्वर आज्ञाकारि पंडित श्री-
5. जीतविजयगणि शिष्य पंडित श्रीविनयविजयगणि फलबधि
6. ई(?) चोमासुं रहि नइ श्रीशंघ नइ देहरा नो उपदेश देइ नि  
श्रीशंघातिनाथ-
7. जो रो जीर्णउडार नवो प्रासाद करायो दव्य समस्त संघो(?)[-]
8. घरचो । घ[म]धोरिइ(?) तपागक्ष मं० श्रीपाल नेठाणि वैद्यइ  
गोत्रि
9. भलइ उद्यमि उपरठाइपणाइ प्रासाद निपाया ॥ सा: नेता पुत्र वक्ता
10. ततपुत्र सा: आसा श्रीशंघातिनाथविंवप्रवेशमहोक्त्र कारितः पोष  
वदि ५ बुधवासर .

INSCR. No. 8 : An inscription incised on a stone slab in front of the temple of Kalyāna Rāya, at the left, consisting of 11 lines, covering a space of 10" high by 10" to 12" broad. A few conventional phrases in corrupt Sanskrit, and the rest in Rājasthani Bhāṣā. Very well preserved, and exceptionally clear.

As regards orthography, it is interesting to note the use of a particular character—the same as is used in modern Marwari script—to distinguish व from व (line 7).

The inscription opens with the date [*Vikrama-*] *Samvat* 1696, the 2nd day of the bright fortnight of *Asādha*, Saturday, and refers to the reign of *mahārājādhīrāja mahārāja Jasavanta Singha* [of Jodhpur]. It then records that in front of the temple of Kalyāna Rāya, the *Muhanōtra Nayana Singha Jē Malota*, conjointly with all the *mahājanas* and *vrāhmanas* of the town, had caused a theatre (*raṅgamandapa*) to be built. At the end come the names of the architects and superintendent.

1. ॥ श्रीगणाधिपतये नम ॥ संवत् १६९६
2. वर्षे असाठ सुदि २ दिन शिनवासरे
3. महाराजाधिराजमह (sic) राज श्रीजसवंतसिं-
4. हज़ १ विजयशाल्ये श्रीपलवधकानगरम-
5. घे श्रीकलाणाशायजी र देहरा आगे दृ(?)ता ॥
6. मुहणोच श्रीनयणसीह जेमलोत उद्यम
7. ॥ करि ने रंगमंडप करायो समस्त महा-
8. जन ब्राह्मणे मेले हुइ ने उद्यम कायो
9. सूत्रधार आणंद सादा । नेता । केसा
10. चेर जोसी उपराठाइ लिघतं
11. मथेन वसत ॥ श्रुभं भवत कल्याण ॥

INSCR. No. 9: An inscription incised on a stone on the outer wall of the fort, consisting of 10 lines, covering a space of 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ " high by 20 $\frac{1}{2}$ " broad. Mixed Sanskrit and Bhāṣā. Letters very deeply engraved and consequently broken in several places, especially in the first three lines and the fifth.

The inscription refers to the reign of *mahārājādhīrāja mahārāja Jasavanta Singha* [of Jodhpur], and *mahārāja kumāra Prithī Singha*, and next gives the date, [*Vikrama-*] *Samvat* 1715, the fifth day of the bright fortnight of *Vaisākha*, Tuesday. It then records that the wall in question (*kota bhuraja*) was caused to be built by the *Muhanōtra mantriśvara Sāma Karana Jē Malota* and the *Sāhanī Jaga Nātha Khīyāvata*. At the end, the names of the architects are given, as usual.

<sup>1</sup> For जो.

1. ॥ ८० ॥ श्रीरामाय नमः ॥ [श्रीगणेशाय नमः] ॥ [ख-]
2. स्ति श्रीमहाराजाधिराज महाराज श्रीन सवंतसंघजौ
3. महाराजकुमार[र] श्रीप्रिथ्वी[संघजौ] [वचना]त(?) [संव]त् १७१५
4. वर्षे वैसाखमासे शुक्लपष्ठे पंचमीतिथे भोमवारे श्रीफ-
5. लवधिपुर[मध्ये] मुहूर्णोच[गोचे] मं[च] औ[श्वर] शामकरण जै-
6. मलौत साहगी जगन्नाथ धौ[याव]त [विश्वाज]माने अ- -
7. उदम करा कोटभुरज छत ॥ सूचधार आगांद हर्षा-
8. सुत ॥ सू० लूणा केसा नाडा ॥ शुभं भवत ॥ कल्या-
9. गमसत ॥ लिपौकृतं सा० जीवण हरवाणी
10. उ ॥ मोहड मेघशाज .

INSCR. No. 10: An inscription incised on the outer wall of the fort, comprising seven lines, and covering a space of 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ " high by 19 $\frac{1}{2}$ " broad. Written completely in Rājasthānī Bhāsā. Huge and deeply engraved characters.

The inscription refers to the reign of the *rājarājeśvara mahārāja Vijē Siṅgha* [of Jodhpur] and *kāvara Phati Siṅgha*, and records how the former defeated *Jogī Dāsa*, who had rebelled to his authority and had locked himself up in the fort. The means through which *Vijē Siṅgha* achieved success, is stated to have been a subterranean mine, whereby he was able to enter the fort and recapture it, while *Jogī Dāsa* was killed in the struggle. To commemorate the deceased (?), the *Bhāṭī Māhu Dāsa* erected a raised platform (*cōtarō*) near the wall of the fort. Of this platform there seems to have remained no trace to this day. The date, which is given at the end, is [*Vikrama-*] *Samvat* 1809, *the 1st day of the dark fortnight of Māgha*.

1. । स्ति(?) श्रीराजशानेश्वर माहाराजा श्रीवि-
2. [जै]सिंघजौ कंवर श्रीफतेसिंघा तथा
3. —ते जोगीदास दरवार सु वाकौ हुय नै कोट
4. —भौ(?)यो थो तौ ऊपरा दरवार सु फोज
5. आय नै कोट सुरंग लगाय ने भेजीयो जो-
6. गीदास काम आयो सं ॥ १८०६ रा माहा वद १ सां-
7. तशो भा । माझदास करायो कोट [पासे हौ? ] ॥ १ ॥.

INSCR. No. 11: An inscription incised on the pedestal of a *mūrti* of Sūrya, the Sun-god, which is found in a small open

chamber within the enclosure of the temple of Kalyāṇa Rāya. It consists of only four lines of writing, covering a space 2½" high by 16" broad. Written in corrupt Sanskrit. Fairly preserved.

The inscription refers to the reign of *rājarājeśvara mahārājādhirāja mahārāja Bhīva Singha* [of Jodhpur], and then records that in the year [Vikrama-] Samvat 1852, corresponding to the Śāka-year 1719, *on the fifth day of the bright fortnight of Asāḍha, Sunday*, the image of Sūrya mentioned above was caused to be made by the Maheśvari Bhavara Sāha Dhanarūpa Sarūpa Canda Kevala Rāmaka.

1. || श्रीगणेशाय नमः श्रीराजशजेश्वर माहाराजाधिराजा माहा-  
राजाज्ञो श्रीभौवसिंघज्ञो दि-
2. जैराज्ये: संवत् १८५२ वर्षे शाके १७१७ प्रवर्त्तमाने मितो आसाठ  
सुदि ५ तिथौ रविवासरे
3. महेश्वरीगोत्रे भवडसाथ पं: साहज्ञो [श्री]परमाणंदज्ञो एत्र  
साहज्ञो धनरूप सरूपचंद केव-
4. लशामकेन श्रीसूर्यबन्ध कराविताः लिघतुं मथेन सिर[चं]दः उसता[द-]  
षान कारिताः ॥ श्री ॥.

#### 4. JHANVARA-INSCRIPTIONS OF THE CĀHAMĀNAS GAJA SINGHA DEVA AND KELHAÑA DEVA (V. S. 1219, 1227).

The following two inscriptions were found in an old Vaisnava temple lying outside the village of Jhāvara, about 12 miles to the west of Jodhpur. The temple is fairly well preserved and still in use. The two inscriptions are incised on the two frontal pillars of the inner shrine, one at each side.

The first of the two inscriptions is in corrupt Sanskrit, and comprises 15 lines of writing covering a space of 11" high by 5" broad. The letters are partially filled with whitewash, but only few of them are illegible. As regards the language, it is interesting to note some peculiarities, *viz.*, the use of *āśit* in the two phrases *Māndavyapurāśit* (ll. 3-4) and [*lā*]gamāne *āśit* (ll. 11-12), and the words *ātmīka* (ll. 6-7), *ābhāvyā* (ll. 7-8), *ghāṇaka* (l. 10), and [*la*]gamāne (l. 11). *Atmīka* seems to be an equivalent of *ātmakīya* or *ātmīya*. *Ābhāvyā*, *ghāṇaka* and *lāgamāna* have all been found by D. R. Bhandarkar in inscriptions from Nādalā referring to the Cāhamāna Rāya Pāla, dated Samvat 1195, 1189 and 1202 respectively (see *Ep. Ind.*, XI, pp. 36-7, 34-6, 42-3).

The inscription opens with the date [Vikrama-] Samvat 1219, *Srāvanavadi* 1, and then, after mentioning the *mahārāja-*

*putra Gaja Singha Deva* in connection with the city of *Māndavyapura*, records that his general Solañki Ja[sadhavala], the son of Dhāmodara, granted to the god Vāsudeva a grant of 1 *dramma* from the income of his generalship of *Jhamara*, evidently the old word for Jhāvara, the village where the inscription is found. Then follow other lines, the sense of which is not quite clear, but the object whereof is to record another grant, apparently of 1 *kalāsa* of oil from the oil-mills, made by the same Jasadhabala for the lightening of a lamp in the temple. Both the grants were made in the presence of four representatives of the four *pādras* of Māndavyapura (cfr. the second inscription).

The most important information supplied by the inscription, is in the mention of Gaja Singha Deva as a ruler of Māndavyapura (Mandora). The name of Gaja Singha as a son of the Cāhamāna Ālhāna of Nādola, was already known from the Kirādū-inscription of V. Samvat 1209 (*Ep. Ind.*, XI, pp. 43-6), where his sign-manual is given after those of his father Ālhāna and his brother Kelhana Deva. From this fact, D. R. Bhandarkar had concluded that Ālhāna had apparently given a share in the administration of his kingdom to his first two sons, Kelhana and Gaja Singha (*loc. cit.*, p. 71). Ālhāna's third son was Kirti Pāla, who, according to the Nādola-plates of V. Samvat 1218 (*Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 69), had been assigned by his father, with the approval of Kelhana, the territory round Nādalāī. Our inscription integrates the above information. Gaja Singha had been assigned the territory of Mandora.

1. संवत् १२१६ आवस्था-
2. वदि १ अयोह महाराज-
3. पुत्रश्रीगजसिंघदेव मां-
4. हव्यपुरासौत् त[स्य] वल[।]-
5. धिपो सौलु[की] जस[धव]-
6. [ल] धामोदरसुतेन आत्मौ-
7. कम्भमरवलाधिपच्चा[भा]-
8. अम[आत् श्री]वासुदेव-
9. स्य प्रद[त्तं द्र]मेकं अंके १
10. अच(?)— — — बाणकतैल
11. क १ वला-[का]गमाने आ-
12. सौव् सोषि दीपकउद्योग-
13. नाय — — जसधवलेन प्र-



14. [दत्तः] चतु[भिः]-हौ(?) विद्य-

15. मान प्रदत्त ॥.

The second inscription is also in corrupt Sanskrit, and contains 10 lines of writing, of which the first six cover a space of  $4\frac{1}{2}$ " high by  $10\frac{1}{2}$ " broad, and the remaining four only a space of  $2\frac{1}{2}$ " high by 5" broad. Much like in the first inscription, here too the letters are spoilt by whitewash, especially in the centre, where they are also worn out. Interesting words are: *taddhita* (l. 3) which, if I am not mistaken, seems to be used in the sense of *tadiya*, and *lāya* (ll. 6-7), which is known from other inscriptions.

The inscription opens with the date [*Vikrama-*] *Samvat* 1227, *sudi* 10, and first of all refers to the victorious reign of the *mahārājādhirāja parameśvara Kelhana Deva*, at *Nādūla*, the chief town in the *Saptaśatabhūmi*. Next it mentions the rule of the *mahārājaputra Cāmunda Rāja* over *Māndavyapura*, and lastly records a grant of 1 *dramma* made by *Nānada*, the son of *Samagha* (?), from the amount of some cess, at *Jhāmara*, one of the four *pādras* in the *bhūmi* of *Māndavyapura*. The donor is described as a *Rāstauda*, i.e. a *Rāthōra* Rajput, but the meaning of *virau*, which is appended to *Rāstauda*, is not clear to me.

*Kelhana Deva*, the Cāhamāna king of *Nādūla*, is well known from other inscriptions, bearing dates ranging from [*V.*] *Samvat* 1221 to 1249. *Saptaśatabhūmi* is undoubtedly the same as the *Saptaśatavisa* of the *Sevārī* copper-plates of *Ratna Pāla* (V.S. 1176) (*Ep. Ind.*, XI, pp. 304-13), and from the present inscription it is clear that this expression designated the whole of the territory then held by the Cāhamānas under their sway. Very interesting is the mention of the *mahārājaputra Cāmunda Rāja* as the ruler of *Māndavyapura*. *Cāmunda Rāja* is a new name, not yet found in any other inscription, and so far it is impossible to decide whether he was a son of *Ālhana* or of *Kelhana Deva*. Whoever he was, it suffices here to know that *Gaja Singha*, who was the ruler of *Māndavyapura* in *V. Samvat* 1219, had been succeeded by *Cāmunda Rāja* in *V. Samvat* 1227. A few years later, in *V. Samvat* 1241, the ruler of *Māndavyapura* was *Sodhala*, a son of *Kelhana* (see *Journ. As. Soc. of Be.*, X, 1914, pp. 406-7). We have thus an apparently continuous list of the Cāhamāna rulers of Mandora from *V. Samvat* 1219 to 1241. *Jhāmara* is evidently the same as *Jhamara* seen above, and from the present inscription it is evident that this village was one of the four *pādras* included in the territory (*bhūmi*) of *Māndavyapura*. The mention of a *Rāstauda* as the donor, is of great importance inasmuch as it shows that *Rāthōras* were found at Mandora at least as early as *V. Samvat* 1227. For other *Rāthōra* families living in Rajputana, even before this period, see D. R. Bhandarkar's note in *Ep. Ind.*, XI, p. 71.

1. ओं संवत् १२२७ भा[ड]पदसुदि १० दिने श्रीसप्तस[त ?]भूम्यं  
(sic) प्रधा[न]प-
2. त[ने] श्रीना[ड]के महाराजा[जा]धिराजपरमेस्वरश्री[केल्ह]गढ़े[विवि]-  
जयरा[ज्ये]
3. तद्वितभूम्यां मर्ष्ये (sic) श्रीमांडवपुर महाराजपुत्रश्रीचामुं[ड]-
4. राजराज्ये अस्य तु भूम्यां पादचतुर्नां मर्ष्ये (sic) प्रधानपाद-
5. श्रीभक्ताम[र]स्थाने देवश्रीमाह[ग ?]श्वामि रा[छो]डविरौ (?) श्री-
6. समवस्तुतनांनहेन याम(?)लागम[ध्यात् प्र]दत्त [ड]° १ मे-
7. कं एष लागं [प्रदत्तं] || - - - का (?)
8. - भवति - - - (?) पालनौ-
9. यं || यस्य अस्य [जदा भूम]ौ त-
10. स्य [त]स्य तदा [फलं] ||.

#### 5. EPIGRAPHICAL RECORDS OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY A.D. AT PĀLA (JODHPUR).

[The first part of this article, describing inscriptions found amongst the ruins of the Jain temple of Ghāṅghānaka, was published in the "Specimen-pages" given in appendix to my "Scheme for the Bardic and Historical Survey of Rajputana." See *Journ. As. Soc. of Be.*, Vol. X, 1914, pp. 405-10].

The epigraphical records in the locality of the old *Dūgelāva* tank, are twelve *sati-tablets*, which bear inscriptions with dates ranging from V. Samvat 1218 to V. Samvat 1244. They are arranged in three lines, the first numbering seven inscriptions, the second one, and the third four. The third and sixth inscriptions in the first line, from the left, are illegible. The other ten are the following :—

- (1) 1. ओं । संवत् १२२२ वैसाखासुदि ११ मं-
2. गलवारे जाति भिचि धार्यासौहा ब्रौद्धलौ (?)
3. या- जाया क्षोक्तिणि बोतिणि जोकांतरितः ॥.
- (2) 1. ओं संवत् १२१८ का-
2. चिक्कसुदि १२ घंघ-
3. लजाति घंघा पो-
4. घ(?)सुत [ज]मके

5. गोवर्धन लृतोः ॥.  
 6. सु° निवोनवल ।.
- (3) 1. [ओं ?] संवत् १२३६ वैसाखसुदि २१  
 2. सहदे[व]सुत महया लज(?)ठो वा(?) -  
 3. सुदेव स्त्री [ग]त[:] (॥).
- (4) 1. ओं । संव[त] १२४० माह-  
 2. वदि १४ महयासुत  
 3. काका वासुदेव निम्ब(?) -  
 4. सुत दर्कटजाति वच(?)क्षसगोत्र (॥).
- (5) 1. ओं ॥ संवत् १२४४ चेत्र वदि १  
 2. सोमे धर्कटजाति दासार्गो[त्र]  
 3. कोलि[या] धर्यावासुत लोकांतरे  
 4. गतः ॥.
- (6) 1. ओं संवत् १२४२ माघसुदि ६  
 2. सू[के] चंघलजाति बुध[सु]-  
 3. [त] सोडासुत धुधा एसा (sic) जा-  
 4. मके गोवर्धण मेहियाके-  
 5. न कशापितः ॥.
- (7) 1. ओं संवत् १२३२ वैसाख वदि १२  
 2. बुधदिने दर्कटजाति पोचस-  
 3. गोत्र वावणसुत मोल्ह-  
 4. ग खर्णं ग[त:] ।.
- (8) 1. संवत् १२५८ भाद्रवासु-  
 2. दि ८ धर्कटजाति पोचस-  
 3. गोत्र वावण पाहडसुत  
 4. भुजा पुनदेवि लोकांत-  
 5. रे गतः [॥].

- (9) 1. [ब्रों] संवत् १२४४ पोसवदि १४ सोमविने  
 2. धार्कंटजाति पोचसगोत्र समधरपुत्र  
 3. मैदूंधर जीवतभार्य महसत परम[लो]के(॥).
- (10) 1. संवत् १२२६ मार्यमुदि २ श-  
 2. नौ [प्र]तीहार थांथादुहिता सो-  
 3. नली लोकांतस्मिः । तथापि जो-  
 4. जली [ - - - ] ॥.

The value of the above inscriptions is chiefly an ethnographical one, they having preserved to us some tribal names, concerning which there has been very scanty evidence to this day. Out of the ten inscriptions, six refer to the *Dharkata jāti* and its *gotras* the *Pocasa* (inscr. 7, 8, 9), the *Vacchasa* (inscr. 4, [3]), and the *Dāsāra* (inscr. 5); two to the *Ghangala jāti* (inscr. 2, 6), one to the *Bhici jāti* (inscr. 1), and one to the *Pratihāra* tribe of Rajputs (inscr. 10). *Jāmaka* (for *Yāmaka*) in the 2nd and 6th inscriptions, is apparently the name of the cemetery on the brim of the *Dūgelāva*, where the deceased were burned and where the funeral stones are now extant. The two last-mentioned inscriptions are engraved on *govardhanas*, whereas all the others are on ordinary stone tablets. Each inscription is surmounted by the figure of the deceased, sitting at the left, with his *sati* standing at the right, and a *linga* between the two. In the sculpture over the inscription No. 1, the *satis* are two.

#### 6. PĀBŪ, A RĀTHORA HERO.

One of the most popular heroes of Marwar, who has been elevated to the rank of a semi-god, is Pābū Rāthora. From the current tradition it appears that he was the son of Dhādhala, and grandson of *rāva* Āsatāna, the son of *rāva* Sīhō. He lived at Kōlū, a village some 18 miles south of Phajodhi, though apparently he was not the ruler of the place, and was associated with a band of Thoris, a wild tribe of pillagers of the desert, who accompanied him in all his daring enterprises. The legend says he was killed in the noble attempt of rescuing cows, which had been robbed by a Khīcī chief to some Cāraṇas in the neighbourhood. Therefore, he is worshipped as a protector of the cattle, and has little shrines devoted to him throughout the country, he being most commonly represented on horseback and the seven Thoris on foot arranged in a line behind him, all in the attitude of shooting an arrow from their bows. To this day, Thoris are found wandering about village to village and singing on the *sārangi* the exploits of Pābū.

and whilst singing they display before the eyes of their auditors a long sheet of cloth on which the most salient events in the life of the hero are represented in colours.

So far, there seems to be no evidence extant for fixing any particular date in connection with the life of Pābū. But if he was the grand-grandson of *rāva* Sihō, as the tradition implies, we can safely, though approximately, place his life in the second half of the Samvat-century 1300, probably the seventh or eighth decades, a period roughly corresponding to the second and third decades in the fourteenth century A.D. The chief point of reference for the above calculation is the date in *rāva* Sihō's funeral stone, which is V. Samvat 1330 (= 1273 A.D.) (see D. R. Bhandarkar in *Ind. Ant.*, XI, 1911, pp. 181-3), and also the date of an inscription referring to Dhūhara, a brother of Dhādhala, which is V. Samvat 1366 (= 1310 A.D.) (*Ibid.*, p. 301).

Of no great help, because later in time, are some epigraphical records, which are found at Kolū, the village of Pābū. The three oldest amongst them refer to the V. Samvat years 1415, 1483, and 1515. There are two little temples, dedicated to Pābū, in the neighbourhood of the village, and it is here that these epigraphical records are found. The oldest record is engraved under a stone image of Pābū, and mentions the erection of the temples in the year *Samvat* 1415, when *Sohara*, a Dhādhala Rāthora, the son of Sobha, the son of Khīvara, the son (?) of Devathāna (?), was the ruler or *jāgīrdār* of the place :—

- (1) 1. संव[त] । १४१५ वर्षे भाद्रवा सुदौ १९ वार<sup>1</sup> आदीतवा[र]
2. राठड आसथान्य सूत धाधल सूत पाव-
3. संघ देवथान घोवड सूत सोभ सूत सोहड-
4. राज्ये वावासा प्रसाद नीपन .

The second inscription is likewise engraved under a stone-image of Pābū, and records that the same was caused to be set up by *Dhādhala Pā(hā?)*, in the year *Samvat* 1483, under the reign of *mahārājādhirāja Lavakhana* (?) :—

- (2) 4. ————— सवत (?)
5. १४८३ प्रवर्त्तमाने वैसाख वदि
6. ५ पंचमो बुधे [पूर्ण]वाढा [न]क्ष-
7. त्रि महाराजाधिराज लव(?)घण-

<sup>1</sup> The stone seems to read वार.

8. शान्ते धांधल पाहा(?) पावृ जोग्य
9. प्रतिष्ठा कशावत - - - - -.

The third inscription is engraved on two faces of a *kirtistambha*, and records that the temples were repaired in the year *Samvat* 1515, by *mahārāja Cādō* and other Dhādhlas, during the reign of *rāya Sātala*, the son of *mahārāya Jodhō* :—

(3)	3. — संवत	1. महाराय
	4. १५१५ वर्षे	2. जोधा सुत
	5. भाद्रवा सुदि	3. राय औसा-
	6. ११ बुधवास-	4. तल विज-
	7. रे महाराय	5. यशान्ते.
	8. राठड धांध-	• . . . .
	9. ल सुत महा-	
	10. राजत पावृ	
	11. प्रसाद मू-	
	12. र्ति कोर्ति-	
	13. स्थंभ करा-	
	14. वितं धांध-	
	15. ल घोमड	
	16. सुत सोभा	
	17. पुत्र सोह-	
	18. ड कमा म-	
	19. ह[1]राज चां-	
	20. ना गिदा हा-	
	21. जा सहिते -	
	22. न प्राप्ताद	
	28. उधरितः	
	• . . . .	

Of little interest, from the historical point of view, are the names of the Dhādhala Rāthoras recorded in the three inscriptions quoted above. Pābū was killed when little more than a boy, and had no sons. His brother Būrō had a posthumous son, but it is not known if the latter had any descendants. There are still a few Dhādhala Rāthoras at Kołū, and they claim to have descended from Udē Singha, one of the sons of Dhādhala.<sup>1</sup> According to the tradition orally preserved by them, Dhādhala had 15 sons, of which Udē Singha was the first, Būrō the second, and Pābū the thirteenth. Jasavanta Singha and Bhūra Singha, the oldest and apparently best informed Dhādhalas in the village, gave me the following genealogical list of their ancestors :—(1) Dhādhala, (2) Udē Singha, (3) Rāma Singha, (4) Gaja Singha, (5) Likhamaṇa Singha, (6) Deva Rāja, (7) Khīva Karana, (8) Sobhata, (9) Sohara and Kamō, (10) Godō, (11) Nētō, (12) Vāghō, (13) Sāt Dāsa, (14) Rūpō, (15) Nētō, (16) Hara Rāma, (17) Mahā Singha, (18) Anō, (19) Bhūrō. The list is evidently incorrect, as it gives too many names to fill the period between Dhādhala (about Samvat 1350) and Sohara (Samvat 1415), and too few for the period between Sohara (Samvat 1415) and Bhūrō (Samvat 1970). I wonder if Deva Rāja is the same as the Devathāna of the first inscription.

A short distance from the two temples, there is a well, called the *Gūjavō kūo*, which the local tradition identifies with the well near which Pābū was killed, after he had drawn water for the rescued cows. On the other side, between the temples and the village, there is a tank, which is called *Pābūsara*, after the name of the hero, and on its slopes there are some *chattris* and many funeral stones. One of the stones under the *chattris* bears an inscription, in which—though much of the writing is illegible—the date *Samvat* 1563 can be safely read, and also the phrase : *rāva Sūrija Mala r[ē] vārē* (= “at the time of *rāva* Sūrija Mala [of Jodhpur]”), and the names Sohara, Godō and Ghara Si. The village of Kołū, which numbers only a few houses at the present day, seems to have been a rather populous one in former times. A *khyāta* of the time of *mahārāja* Jasavanta Singha of Jodhpur describes it as being inhabited by 20 Rajputs, 130 Banias, 210 Thoris, 300 Muhammadans and 210 Dhedhas (see *Descriptive Catalogue*, sect. i, pt. i, No. 12), and further states that the village was given in *sāsana* to the *bhopās* of Pābū by *rāva* Gāgō of Jodhpur.

<sup>1</sup> In most of the Bikaner chronicles, Pābū himself is represented as a son of Udē Singha. Cfr. the following account, which is taken from the *Khyāta* of Dayāla Dāsa (see *Descr. Cat.*, Sect. i, pt. ii, No. 1):—

धर्मज्ञो रै बेडा दीय झवा । वडो जदल छोडो आसल । लोर जदल रै  
बेडा दीय झवा । वडो चूङ्गो छोडा पाखुओ (p. 47 b.)

The version of the legend of Pābū, which follows, was drawn up in accordance with the account in the *Khyāta* of Mūhanōta Nēna Sī.

Dhādhala Rāthòra, the son of Āsathāna, from his ancestral seat in Mahevò went once to Gujarāt. There he had the good fortune to surprise some heavenly nymphs who were sporting near a pond, and succeeded in catching one of them. The fair prisoner asked him : "Why do you detain me ?" "Remain with me" he said. She agreed, but demanded the condition that he should never watch what she was doing when left alone. Dhādhala took her to Kolū, a village where there was a petty ruler, his name Pemò, whom he never cared to pay homage to. There Dhādhala had a separate palace built for the nymph, and in the course of time she made him father of two children, a girl, Sona-bāī, and a boy, Pābū. Now, whenever Dhādhala went to see the nymph, he used to give her notice before. But one day he could not resist the curiosity of spying what she might be doing, when unobserved, and went stealthily into the palace, and what did he see but a lioness giving suck to her cub. On noticing him, the lioness, who was but the nymph, resumed her proper form and disappeared into the sky. The cub also took his proper form, that is Pābū's, and Dhādhala gave him to a nurse.

In the course of a few years, Dhādhala died, leaving besides Pābū and Sona-bāī, two other children of an elder age, namely a youth, Būrò, and a girl, Pema-bāī. Pema-bāī was married to the Khīcī Jinda Rāva, and Sona-bāī to the Devarò ruler of Sirohi. Being elder in age, Būrò inherited all his father's rights and property, and nothing was left to the younger Pābū. He had only a she-camel in his possession, and on this he used to go hunting about and earning his livelihood.

Somewhere south of Koļū there was ruling a Vāghelò chief by name Ānò, and he had seven Thoris in his service, their names Cādiyò, Deviyò, Khākhū, Pemalò, Khemalò, Khaṅghārò, and Vāsalò. A famine befell over the country, and these Thoris slew a she-buffalo to satisfy their hunger. This aroused the anger of the son of Ānò and in the quarrel that ensued, he was eventually killed. The Thoris had to escape from the country, in consequence, and they were pursued by Ānò, who overreached them and engaged in a fight, in which the father of the seven Thoris lost his life. The seven brothers sought successively refuge in many places, but no one would accept them, out of fear of Ānò Vāghelò. At last, they went to Pemò, the chief of Koļū, and he sent them to the Dādhala's. The Thoris then went to Būrò, and he told them to go to Pābū. Thus at last they went in search of Pābū into the desert, where he was reported to have gone to hunt. There they met a boy, who was hunting a deer, and

they asked him where Pābū was. He said Pābū had gone to hunt. The Thoris said they would wait for him to come back, and meanwhile asked the boy for the she-camel, which he rode, to appease their hunger. The boy gave her to them, and went away telling he was going to Pābū. The Thoris had scarcely eaten the she-camel, than the boy came back, and what was their surprise when they learned from the nurse that that boy was Pābū himself. The first question Pābū asked of them was : " To where have you taken my camel ? " They said : " You gave it to us, and we ate it." Pābū said it was nonsense and sent them to see where they had left it. They went to where they had left the skeleton, and there they found the she-camel standing in flesh and bones. Then they understood the power of that little boy and became his servants.

From that day, the Thoris never left the side of Pābū. Wherever he went, they accompanied him, ready to shed their blood in the defence of their master. And there was no lack of daring enterprises for men in the service of such a master, for hardly had any adventure occurred to his mind, he was already in for it. On the occasion of Būrō's daughter being married to Gogō Cāhuvāṇa, Pābū promised her as a marriage gift the she-camels of Devò Sūmarō. Now Devò was such a powerful chief, that people used to call him " a second Rāvana." Everyone laughed at Pābū's promise, but Pābū was in earnest and sent Hariyò, one of his Thoris, to find out the whereabouts of Devò. Meanwhile another task imposed itself on the hero, and this was one of revenge. His sister Sona-bāī, who had been married to Sirohi, had been insulted by her husband. One day, whilst she was playing at *cōpara* with her Vāgheli co-wife,—the daughter of Ānō,—the latter despised her on the ground she had had no ornaments in dowry and her brother used to eat with the Thoris. To the latter remark, Sona-bāī replied that Pābū's Thoris were better than the very emirs in the service of the *rāva*, her husband, whereupon the *rāva*, who overheard, gave her three cuts with his whip. On hearing of the insult suffered by his sister, Pābū at once prepared to go to revenge her.

Before setting out, he went to take leave of his elder brother, Būrō, at the head of his Thoris, mounted on his Kālavī mare. This was a mare that had been born to the Kāchelā Cāraṇas by a mare fecundated by a marine horse. Being a mare of superior qualities, many chiefs, and amongst these Jinda Rāva Khieī and Būrō, had been longing to possess her, but the Cāraṇas had refused her to everybody, except Pābū, to whom they gave her at last on the condition he should draw his sword for them, whenever they happened to be in need of his help. On seeing Pābū coming on the Kālavī mare, his sister-in-law, Doda Gaheli, blamed him for having accepted a horse that was desired by his elder brother, and scornfully

asked him whether he needed the horse for ploughing or for pillaging the country. Pābū answered that as for his brother's desire to have the mare, he was ready to give her to him, but as for the question concerning the use he would make of the mare, he was also a Rajput and needed the horse, and was brave enough to go to Dīdavānō, his sister-in-law's native place, and bring to Koṇū her brothers in fetters. Doda Gaheli laughed, but not many days passed ere Pābū came back and called her to his palace and asked her to look out from a window. Doda Gaheli looked out, and what did she see but her brothers, their hands tied behind their backs, their faces turned upwards, and their cheeks watered with tears, whilst the Thoris were pulling them by the hair and administering them a generous thrashing.

Meanwhile Hariyō came back and told that the proposed expedition against Dedō was impossible, not only because of the power of that chief, but also the impregnability of his positions. Pābū was by no means disheartened at the information, but thought he must first go against Sirohī and revenge his sister. He set out with his seven Thoris all on horseback, and only Hariyō on foot. Now the seven Thoris had been always pressing him to revenge them on Ānō Vāghelō. The village of this chief was just on the way to Sirohī; on reaching there, Pābū joined in fight with him and killed him. Ānō's son came to Pābū for submission and laid before him all his mother's ornaments. Pābū forgave him and installed him on his father's seat. Then Pābū proceeded to Sirohī, where he fought with his brother-in-law and defeated him and caught him alive. It was only at the intercession of Sona-bāī, he released him. Then he gave her the ornaments of the wife of Ānō Vāghelō, and Sona-bāī's triumph was complete when she went to show them to her co-wife and at the same time told her that her father Ānō had been killed by valiant Pābū and his Thoris.

After thus revenging his sister, Pābū set out for the expedition against Dedō Sūmarō. On the way thereto, he came across the territory of Mirjā Khān and encamped in his orchards, causing much damage. The gardeners ran to inform Mirjā, but the latter, who had heard of the bravery of Pābū, came to make submission, bringing many rich presents, which Pābū refused to accept, to the exception of a horse, which he gave to Hariyō who had none. Then he continued his march towards the country over which Dedō ruled, but as he reached the *Pañcanada*, there there was an immense sheet of water, many fathoms deep, obstructing his way, and there were no means of getting across. He had recourse to his supernatural power and in no time brought himself and the Thoris to the other shore. There he found the she-camels of Dedō grazing, and ordered the Thoris to surround and capture them. Only one

camel was spared, and he sent on that a man to inform Dedò he was taking the camels away and was ready to meet him if he meant to come to the rescue. Then he conveyed the Thoris, the camels, and himself to the other shore and left for Sodarò, the village of Gogò. Dedò went to find Mirjā, who advised him never to attempt to recover the camels from such a hero as Pābū was, and so he gave up every hope of revenge and took his way back to his domains.

Now the way from Pañcanada to Sodarò was through Umarakoṭa. On passing through the last place, Pābū was seen by the virgin daughter of the Sodhò ruler of the place, her name Phulavantī, who immediately fell in love with him and told her parents she had made a vow to get married to Pābū or nobody else. The father of the girl approved of her resolution and sent a man to offer his daughter in marriage to Pābū. Pābū accepted, but said he could not stop just then, but would come to marry after making over to Gogò the camels of Dedò. And continued on his way. When he reached Sodarò and brought the camels before Gogò, Gogò praised him, but a doubt arose in his mind, that those might not be the camels of Dedò, but camels wrested from somebody else. He therefore resolved to have a trial made and see if Pābū had really such a power as seemed to be necessary for the carrying out of a similar feat. He told him : "I have some wrong to revenge on a personal enemy of mine. Let us go to-morrow and take the auspices." Accordingly, the next morning, they both went into the desert, but had no auspices. They lay down under a tree to sleep, leaving their horses to graze. When they woke up in the afternoon, Gogò said : "Let us go home." Pābū went to fetch the horses, but found that both had their legs shackled with serpents. He understood it was a trick played him by Gogò, but kept quiet and came back saying he had not been able to find the horses. Then Gogò went for them, and what did he see but a large lake, with a small boat in the middle, and both the horses in it. Then he understood what the power of Pābū was, and went back to him, and this time both the heroes went for the horses and found them still grazing where they had left them.

On reaching Kolū, Pābū received the marriage invitation from the Sodhò chief of Umarakoṭa. Then he called his relatives Jinda Rāva, Gogò, Būrò, and the *rāva* of Sirohi to come and join his marriage procession. The Thorī Cādiyò in those very days was celebrating the marriage of his seven daughters, and so Pābū exempted him from accompanying him. He took with him Deviyò instead. On the road, the procession met with sinister omens, whereupon all deserted Pābū and turned back, to the exception of Deviyò. Pābū, however, reached Umarakoṭa safely and married the girl and brought her to Kolū.

Now Jinda Rāva, after he left the marriage procession bound for Īmarakota, on his way home robbed the cows of a Cāraṇī, her name Viravarī. She went to Būrō to demand help, but he refused it, adducing the pretext that he had a pain in his eyes. Viravarī then went to Pābū, who readily undertook the task of revenge. At the head of the seven Thoris and the marriage guests of Cādiyò, Pābū ran after Jinda Rāva and rescued the kine. When he took them back to Kolū, the poor beasts were dying with thirst, so he took them to the well and with his own hands drew up water for them. Meanwhile, the younger sister of Viravarī had gone to Būrō and rebuked him saying : " What do you think you have gained by refusing to go and rescue our kine ? Lo, Pābū, your younger brother, has run to the rescue and lost his life at the hands of the Khīci." The news, of course, was false, but Būrō believed it and without further consideration went in anger after Jinda Rāva. The two met in the field and Būrō was killed. When Jinda Rāva saw Būrō dead, he was greatly alarmed, because he thought now Pābū would come to revenge his brother's death. He therefore resolved to anticipate the attack by going himself in search of Pābū and falling upon him by surprise. Accordingly, he hastened to Kolū, where he went to see Pemò, the ruler of the place, and won him to his side by representing Pābū as scheming to dispossess him of the land. Pābū was still at the well, where he had drawn water for the cows, when he noticed a cloud of dust nearing from a distance. " What is that ? " he inquired of Cādiyò. " It is the Khīci returning to the assault " was the answer. Pābū mounted his mare and prepared to meet the foe. He fought stupendously, but could not escape his fate, and lost his life, and won himself a place in heaven. Jinda Rāva, however, was defeated by the gallant Thoris.

The Sodhi wife of Pābū immolated herself on the pyre to join her lord in heaven, and so did the Doda wife of Būrō, who was pregnant, after cutting her womb and extracting a child seven months old. This child she gave to a nurse, saying : " Take good care of him, for he will grow a man of supernatural power. Since he has been brought forth by practising a cut (*jhararō*), his name will be *Jhararō*." According to the prophecy, the child grew up, and on reaching the twelfth year of age avenged his father and uncle by killing Jinda Rāva Khīci, and ruled over the land. Subsequently, having met Gorakha Nātha, he became an immortal *siddha*, and as such is supposed to be still living on the face of the earth.

#### 7. KOTA INSCRIPTION OF RĀÑĀ LĀKHĀ (V.S. 1445?)

The following inscription was found at Kota, near Desuri, in the Godhavāra province, incised on a pillar of a Jaina

*dharmaśālā*. Originally, it formed part of a temple of Pārvatī, which is now seen in ruins outside the same village, and some of the stone material of which seems to have been used in the building of the said *dharmaśālā*. I have not seen the place, but edit the inscription from two impressions taken by my travelling man Cāraṇa Ujalā Rāma Dayāla.

The inscription consists of ten lines of writing, and covers a space of 9" high by 10½" broad. The text is in a mixture of corrupt Sanskrit and Bhāṣā. It opens with the date [*Vikrama-Samvat* 14[4]5, the third day of the bright fortnight of Āśādha, Monday], and after an allusion to the victorious reign of *rānā Lākhā* and the jurisdiction of *thākura Mādāna*, refers to the temple of Pārvatī at Āsalapura-durga. The object of the inscription is to record that the *Bālyanā-mandapa*, apparently the same temple mentioned above, was repaired by *sāha Kadūā* of the Upakeśavamśa, Ligāgotra, and his wife Kamaṭa De, his son Jaga Simha and others, for the sake of the increment of their spiritual merits. At the end the testimony is given of the whole *sāṅgha* and the aforesaid *thākura Mādāna*.

Of the names mentioned in the inscription, *rānā Lākhā* is that of the famous ruler of Mewar, and *Āsalapura* the old name of the place where the inscription was found. Another inscription, also found at Kota and giving Āsalapura as the name of the place, was published by D. R. Bhandarkar in *Ep. Ind.*, XI, pp. 62-3. The Samvat year is not clear in our inscription, the third numerical figure looking more like 2 or 7 than 4, but from the fact that Lākhā ascended the throne in the year Samvat 1439 and was succeeded by Mokala in 1454, it seems impossible that the date should be anything but 1445.

The chief importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it is the first epigraphic document of the *rānā* of Mewar's direct rule over Godhavāra. The Nādalāī-inscription of Cāhamāna Ranavira (*loc. cit.*, pp. 63-4), which is dated in the year Samvat 1443, does not contain any allusion to Ranavira's subordinacy to Mewar. It would therefore seem that as far as Samvat 1443—only two years before the date of our inscription—the Godhavāra province still remained in the hands of the Cāhamānas. Whether Ranavira and his father Vanavira, whom Tod represents as having offered his services to *rānā* Hamira, were still independent or had become tributaries of Mewar, it is so far impossible to know. But one thing is certain: that in the year Samvat 1445—the date of our inscription—the Cāhamānas were no longer on their throne and Godhavāra had been incorporated into the *rānā*'s domains.

1. ओँ स्वर्गे श्रीसंवत् १४[४]५ वर्षे आसाठ-
2. सुदि २ सोमे रात्रा श्रीलाखाविजयरात्रे

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8. प्रधानठाकुर श्रीमांडग्यापारे श्रीचासल-
4. पुरदुर्गे श्रीपार्वनाथमंत्रिचैत्ये । उपकेष्ठवं-
5. श्री जिगामोचे साह कडूच्या भार्या कमलदे पु-
6. च जगसीह क - - - - केल्हा जगसीह भार्या
7. ताल्हणदे पुत्र खेठा (?) भार्या जयतौ पुत्र सु-- स-
8. छासहितेन आत्मपुण्यश्रेयसे बाल्य]गामांडपजौ-
9. गोधारः काशापितः । शुभं भवतु समस्तसंघ(?) मांड-
10. गठा[कुर] साक्षिका ॥

*Bikaner, 2nd Jan., 1916.*

## 7. Demon-Cultus in Mündāri Children's Games.

By SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

A theory has been recently propounded to the effect that a number of the games played by children are survivals of demon-worship. I have already shown<sup>1</sup> that the origin of several of the North Indian children's games may be explained by this theory. Take, for instance, the highly interesting and popular North Indian game known under the name of *Ankh Mundaul*. It has a very striking similarity to the German game of "Blind Cow," the French "Blind Man's Buff," the Dutch "Blind Cat," the "Blind Goat" of the Danes and the Swedes, and the "Blind Fly" of the Italians. The method of playing it is as follows:—One boy is selected to be blind and has to stand facing a wall. The other players conceal themselves, and, while the blind player is searching for them, try to touch the wall. Whosoever among the players is touched by the blind man becomes a "thief" or "blind man" in his place. Curiously enough, the Bengalis, like the Italians, designate this game with the name of *Kānā Māchhi* or the "Blind Fly." In the Bengali variant of this game, as in the English form thereof, the blind man has to touch one of the players who are sitting round, and, after feeling him, has to bawl out his name. In the *Dūndū-Khel* or the Mündā version of this game, however, the "blind man's" playmates slap him one after the other. If the former succeeds in identifying the boy who slaps him, the covering is removed from his eyes, and the boy who has been caught slapping him and recognized, has at once to take the place of the former and is blind-folded. And the play goes on in the same way as before till he, in his own turn, succeeds in recognizing the boy who may have been slapping him.<sup>2</sup>

Applying our theory to the explanation of the foregoing North Indian game, we find that the "blind man" represents the masked demon of the German children's games, who tries to catch the rest of the players, while the latter try to evade being caught by him.

The essential component of these games is the evasion of the demon's efforts to catch one of the players. But there is not the least trace of the existence therein of any incident

<sup>1</sup> "North Indian Children's Games and Demon-Cultus," *Journ. Bombay Anthropol. Soc.*, vol x, pp. 1-7.

<sup>2</sup> *The Mündās and Their Country*. By S. C. Roy, M.A., B.L. With an Introduction by E. A. Gait, Esq., I.C.S., C.I.E. Calcutta: The City Book Society. 1912. pp. 491-92.



which may be construed into a mimicking of the worship of the demon. The theory set forth above, therefore, seems to be defective.

The question, therefore, arises : Whether the theory is a plausible one and, if so, whether its plausibility is borne out by the evidence of any game, whether Indian or European, the main incident whereof is a travesty of the worship of the demon. Fortunately, we have found that a game answering to the aforesaid description and mainly based upon the incident of mimicking the worship of the demon, exists in Northern India and that among a people still living in a low plane of culture, namely, the Mūndās of Chhota Nagpur. Among their numerous dramatic games, that is to say, games which are intended to afford amusement with instruction at the same time and which are usually played in the evening, is one which goes by the name of *Kāntārā inū*, or the "Jack-fruit game." The mode in which it is played is as follows :—

One boy represents a jack-fruit tree. A certain number of boys and girls represent the fruits thereof. One boy acts the part of the owner of the tree ; another boy represents a dog set to keep watch and ward over the fruits ; while a third one personates a thief. The boys and the girls, who represent the jack-fruits, cling to the boy simulating the tree and bawl out at the top of their voices : "*Hētē tērē bāndā hūkā, hētē tērē bāndā hūkā.*" When the owner is fast asleep, the thief comes to the tree. The watch-dog, getting scent of him, barks at him furiously. Disturbed by the dog's yelping, the owner of the tree wakes up from his sleep and finds the thief stealing his jack-fruits—whereupon he raises a hue and cry. Thereupon the thief takes to his heels and carries away with him the jack-fruits he has helped himself to.

The next morning, the thief presents himself before the proprietor of the tree and asks for the loan of a knife. Thereupon the latter asks the former the purpose for which he wants it. The thief replies that, as he has slain a goat, he requires the knife to skin and dress the beast with. Satisfied with this reply, the proprietor lends him the knife. Chuckling over the success of his ruse, the thief goes home with the knife, cuts open the jack-fruit and helps himself to the toothsome contents thereof as much as he can. When he goes to return it to the owner, the latter smells it and enquires as to why it emits the smell of a jack-fruit. Scarcely have these words issued from the proprietor's mouth, the purloiner of the jack-fruit takes to his heels. On the ensuing night also, the jack-fruits are again stolen by the thief. As soon as the watch-dog observes the latter, it sets up a loud barking. Hearing the dog's yelping, the proprietor wakes up and, finding that his fruits have been stolen for the second time, raises a hue and cry. But the thief runs away as fast as his heels will carry him, taking with him his booty. The follow-

ing morning, the proprietor of the tree, who had by this time become a sadder but a wiser man owing to the theft of his fruits, says to himself : " I shan't leave any more of my fruits on the tree. The rascally thieves are stealing them all and taking them away." Just as he is thus soliloquising to himself, the thief, looking the very picture of innocence, once more presents himself before the owner and asks for the loan of a knife to kill a fowl with. The owner of the tree, believing his words to be true, lends him the same knife as he had done on the previous occasion. On getting it, the former goes away. During the night, however, the thief cuts down the jack-tree with it. The very next morning, he goes as before to return the knife to its owner. When, in the morning, however, the latter comes out of the house, lo ! and behold his surprise at seeing his favourite jack-tree felled to the ground and lying prostrate on it.

He then goes to consult a *sokhā* or ghost-finder in order to ascertain from him as to what malignant spirit or demon might have played the mischievous prank upon him by cutting down his favourite jack-tree. It so happens that the ghost-finder, to whom he has betaken himself for advice, is no other than the wily purloiner of his jack-fruits. When the proprietor of the tree lays his case before him, the pretended ghost-finder, assuming an air of solemnity, directs him to bring one white hen, one black goat and one buffalo, besides rice and the other customary offerings to propitiate the offended *bhūt* (demon or evil spirit) with. The duped proprietor, taking his directions in all earnestness, duly brings the required offerings at the prescribed time. Then the travesty of worshipping the angry demon and making him the offerings to appease his wrath with, is gone through. When the mimic ceremony is finished, one of the boy-players catches hold of the legs of the boy who simulates the felled jack-tree ; while another player takes hold of him by the hands—all bawling out the following rhyme at the top of their voices :—

" *Sim darom joma chi ?*  
*Merom darom joma chi ?*  
*Kera darom joma chi ?* "

#### TRANSLATION.

" Will you eat fowl-sacrifice ?  
 Will you eat goat-sacrifice ?  
 Will you eat buffalo-sacrifice ? "

The boy representing the tree then stands up again. Then all the other players join hands and dance round the tree.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *The Mündās and Their Country.* By S. C. Roy. (Calcutta : 1912) pp. 492-494.

It will thus be seen that, in this game, there is a clear mimicking of the worship of the demon with all its customary accompaniments. But in the European games and the North Indian one named *Ankh Mundaul*, which have been described, there is no such travesty of demon-worship. The main incident, on which these latter are based, is that one of the players, who is blind-folded and, therefore, called the "blind man," tries to catch the rest of his playmates. It has been suggested that the "blind man" represents the masked demon of German children's games who tries to catch the rest of the players, while the latter try to evade being caught by him. It has been further stated that the mask was unprovided with eye-holes either for the purpose of rendering the catching more difficult or for averting the "evil eye" of the demon during the imitation of his activities. All this is plausible enough. But the demon's attempt to catch the rest of the players and the latter's evasion of his efforts to seize them, cannot certainly be called relics of demon-worship. We, therefore, think that Professor Singer-Bern's theory, as propounded in the German *Folklore Journal* to the effect that many of the children's games, as played in Europe, are survivals of demon-worship, requires modification. We would suggest that they, as also the *Ankh Mundaul* of Northern India, are games embodying vestiges of the demon-lore of primitive times. So far as our investigations go, the Mündāri dramatic game appears to be the only game, hitherto known, which embodies a travesty of demon-worship.

The offerings required for the propitiation of the demon in the Mündāri game are a white hen, a black goat and a buffalo. Why are these beasts and bird of the colours specified requisitioned? The offering of a white cock or hen is very acceptable to a demon. On the occasion of the Holi festival, the tribal priest of the Dusādhs and Dhāngars—two menial tribes living in the Eastern districts of the United Provinces—has to climb up a ladder made of wooden sword-blades by placing the soles of his feet on the edges of the weapons. When he gets on to the summit thereof, he has to decapitate a white cock which is tied on the top.<sup>1</sup> It has been suggested that the white cock is sacrificed by way of propitiating the Sun-god. But we think that this is not plausible enough, for had it been an offering to the Sun-god, the sacrificial cock would have been a black one, as from our survey of the ceremonial customs of Northern India, we have found that a black fowl is invariably offered up by way of sacrifice to the benevolent deities. An examination, for instance, of the ritual of the Mündās of Chhota Nagpur will bear out the plausibility of the suggestion

<sup>1</sup> *An Introduction to the Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India.* By W. Crooke, B.A. Allahabad : 1894. pp. 10-11.

made above. On the occasion of the ear-boring ceremony of a Mündā baby, a black fowl is sacrificed on a spot marked with the figure of a parallelogram, and the blood of the fowl is sprinkled over the figure.<sup>1</sup> At the celebration of the Phagu festival, the Pāhan makes joint offerings of three pieces of rice-flour bread, one pot of rice-beer, and a black hen which are offered to all the Bōngās or deities presiding over the woods, hills, streams, fields and groves and prays for success in hunting.<sup>2</sup> When the Sohorai festival is celebrated, a black fowl is sacrificed at the door of the buffalo-shed; and its meat together with rice-beer are offered up to propitiate the Goreā Bōngā—the deity who presides over cattle.<sup>3</sup>

Note the anomalous sacrifice, by the Asūrs, of a white cock to Sing-bōngā—the Supreme Deity of the Mündās—in their legend of Lutkum Haram and Lutkum Buria.<sup>4</sup>

Now we come to the offering of the black goat. The goat is an animal which is credited with the possession of mystic powers. It is invariably offered up by way of sacrifice. The authorities on cultural anthropology are divided in their opinion about the origin of this belief in the possession of its mystic powers and of the preference given to it as an animal fit for sacrifice. Some of them say that they are based either on its peculiar smell and its habits of butting, and of injuring plants by browsing upon them, or on its uncanny and shaggy appearance.<sup>5</sup> Others think that these have originated from its possession of the curious habit of occasionally shivering, which is supposed to be caused by some divine afflatus or essence in it—some spirit residing within it.

This remarkable habit of shivering is, moreover, utilized by various peoples as an oracle for deciding boundary-disputes and the question whether or not the sacrifice to be offered to a deity is acceptable to the latter. The ancient Greeks would not sacrifice a goat if it did not shiver when it was besprinkled with water. The Thags of India also had recourse to the same device. Whenever they had to offer up a sacrifice to their grim goddess Devī—the deity who presides over malevolent spirits and was the patron-saint of their dreadful profession, they would select two goats, black and perfect in all their limbs, make them stand facing the west and then bathe them with water. If they shivered and shook the water from their shaggy coats, it was regarded as an omen that the sacrifice was acceptable to the goddess. The same procedure was also adopted in the sacrifice to the famous hill-demon Airi, who is

<sup>1</sup> *The Mündās and Their Country*, pp. 459-460.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 474-475.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 481.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. xxxi (Appendix II).

<sup>5</sup> *Demonology and Devil-lore*. By M. D. Conway. London : 1879.

believed to be the ghost of some hunter killed while in the pursuit of game. Like the Wild Huntsman of European legends, he haunts the forest in which the tragic incident happened and may be heard hallooing to his dogs. If the goat to be offered up as a sacrifice to this demon, when it is marked with vermillion on the forehead and rice and water are sprinkled over it, shivers and shakes off the water from its body, it is looked upon as an omen that the demon has accepted the offering ; and it is forthwith slain.<sup>1</sup>

A goat of a perfectly black colour is always preferred for sacrificial purposes. If it is "without a single spot of white," it is a very acceptable offering for demons and all malignant deities and spirits of the same ilk, as will appear from the Thags' selection of it for sacrifice to their demon-goddess Devi, and from its requisition for the worship of the demon in the Mündāri children's game described herein. This practice is prevalent not only in Northern India but also in the Southern Presidency of which a marked feature is its demon-worship. The most famous festival in honour of a demon is held at Puttoor, a suburb of Trichinopoly, and is based on the following legend :—

Once upon a time, a demoness named Kolomayi had a temple in Travancore. She thirsted for human blood and could only be propitiated by the sacrifice of children. A large number of children were sacrificed to her ; but still she was not appeased. Consequently, the people were afflicted by her with outbreaks of epidemics and the sufferings of a great famine ; while the holocaust of children threatened to depopulate their land. In this strait, the sore-stricken people made up their minds to deport her to some other land and thereby free themselves from her visitations. With this object in view, they constructed a raft whereupon they placed the image of Kolomayi and set it adrift upon the waters of the Cauvery. The raft was at last stranded at Puttoor where it was buried under the ground. Some ryots, who were excavating earth, accidentally dug out the image of Kolomayi. Thereupon the grim goddess threatened to curse them if they did not instal her in a temple and arrange for her daily worship. This they did, and arranged for her *puja* with offerings of fruit, camphor, sugar and butter. But the demoness would not accept anything short of the sacrifice of children. Her demand struck terror into their hearts. As their women were not as prolific as those of Travancore, they could not afford to sacrifice their children. Therefore they made up their minds to deport her again and informed her accordingly of their decision. But Kolomayi, remembering the discomforts of the voyage on the raft and the long entombment under the ground,

<sup>1</sup> Crooke's *An Introduction to the Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India* (Allahabad Edition of 1894), pp. 163-4.



relented and said : " You may substitute goats for children when you offer sacrifice to me. And I will bless your lands with double crops, but the goats must be as black as your own children without a single spot of white." So she was allowed to remain in her temple ; and a festival is held in her honour in the month of March every year.<sup>1</sup>

In this connection, it may be stated here that a white goat appears to be the appropriate sacrifice for a beneficent deity. In the Mündāri legend of *Lutkum Haram and Lutkum Buria*, the Asūrs are stated to have sacrificed a white goat to Sing Bōngā, the Supreme Deity of the Mündās, when their supply of iron fell short, whereupon the deity is said to have provided them with an abundance of this metal.<sup>2</sup> In the same legend, two virgins are stated to have, on behalf of the Asūrs, worked the furnaces with bellows newly made of *white goat-skin*.<sup>3</sup>

Now I come to the subject of the offering of the buffalo. The buffaloes are invariably black ; while albino ones are rarities. A black buffalo is a fit offering for Kāli or Devī, who presides over demons and malignant spirits, and is usually sacrificed to her. It is also offered up as sacrifice to the goddess Durgā who is said to have slain the buffalo-shaped Mahishāsura. Hence her appellation of *Mahishāsuraghātī*. The black buffalo is, therefore, very appropriately requisitioned for offering to the demon in the Mündāri game referred to above.

The colours black, white, red and yellow are stated to be particularly dreaded by demons and malignant spirits, and are said to scare them away.<sup>4</sup> If this be so, the offerings of a white hen, a black goat and a black buffalo, as mentioned in the Mündāri children's game which has been described, would have scared the demon away instead of propitiating him. But from what I have stated above, it would appear that, as a matter of fact, white fowls, black goats and buffaloes are invariably sacrificed in India to propitiate demons and malevolent deities. This is one among the many anomalies in the popular customs and beliefs of India.

<sup>1</sup> On the Coromandel Coast. By F. E. Penny. London : Smith Elder & Co. 1908. pp. 288-291.

<sup>2</sup> Roy's The Mündās and Their Country. p. xxxi (Appendix II).

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., p. xxxiii (Appendix II).

<sup>4</sup> Crooke's An Introduction to the Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India, p. 201.



## 8. A New Species of *Tephrosia* from Sind.—*Tephrosia Falciformis, Ramaswami.*

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[With Plate I.]

Among the small collections of plants that were frequently sent by Mr. R. S. Hole, Forest Botanist, Dehra Dun, in the year 1913 to the Herbarium of the Royal Botanic Garden, Sibpur, for determination, was a curiously fruiting species of *Tephrosia*, found in the Mohibal dero forests, Nauhahro, in the province of Sind. This could not be identified with any species in the Calcutta Herbarium, and as the specimen contained no flower, Mr. Hole was requested to collect from the same source some specimens in flower. This he very kindly did, and the result was that later in the year a fairly good flowering specimen of this species was made available for study. A careful examination of this, together with the fruit-material already sent, revealed the existence of a hitherto undescribed species of *Tephrosia*. Moreover, there is already a specimen in the Herbarium, collected by Major Roberts in Rajputana, which is identical with the present one, but which was previously erroneously identified as *Tephrosia purpurea*, Pers. The available material thus allowed of a fairly complete description of the species being drawn up, which is presented below, with a short Latin diagnosis prefixed to it. One of the duplicates of the specimen was sent to Kew, and there the writer's determination was confirmed.

### TEPHROSIA (? SECTIO NOVA) FALCIFORMIS, Ramas., sp. nov.

Species distinctissima, leguminibus falcatis vel prope circinalibus.

Herba perennis, rigida, 50-60 cm. alta. Folia imparipinnata, foliolo terminali lateralibus aliquanto majore, rhachi adpresso sericea, basi inconspicue pulvinata, 5·08 cm.—10·16 cm. longa; stipulae lineares, persistentes, 3 mm. longae; foliola 5-11, angusta, oblanceolata, basi cuneata, apice acuto sed distincte mucronato, lateralia 2·5 cm.—3·8 cm. longa, 4·2 mm.—6·3 mm. lata, terminalia 3·1 cm.—4·4 cm. longa, 6·3 mm.—9·5 mm. lata, albo-sericea; nervi laterales 11-13, paralleli.

Racemi terminales et foliis oppositi, laxiflori, 9 cm.—22·5 cm. longi, pedunculati. Flores gemini, 7·8 mm. longi; pedicellis 2·5 mm.—10·2 mm. longis, sericeis; bracteis minutis, subulatis, 2·1 mm. longis. Calyx extra albo-sericeus; tubus campanulatus 2·1 mm. longus 3·2 mm. diametro; lobii subulati, basi triangulari, 1·9 mm. longi. Vexillum purpureum, extra albo-sericeum, orbiculato-cordatum, apice breviter emarginato, 7·5 mm. longum 10·2 mm. latum; alae 6·3 mm. longae; carina 5 mm. longa. Ovarium albo-flavidum, sericeum; stylus incurvus, glabrescens; stigma penicillatum. Legumen omnino-falcatum vel paene circinatum, mucronatum, 3·17 cm.—8·89 cm. longum, 6·3 mm. latum, tenuiter reticulatum, puberulum. Semina subreniformia, glauca, 5 mm. longa, 2 mm. lata.

A very low perennial, about 2 feet high, very rigid. Young branches angular, finely appressed—white-silky. Leaves imparipinnate, 2·4 in. long, the terminal leaflet somewhat larger than the rest; rachis appressed-sericeous; pulvinus inconspicuous. Stipules linear, persistent,  $\frac{1}{8}$  in. long. Leaflet 5·11, very narrowly oblanceolate, base cuneate, apex acute and mucronate, lateral 1 in.—1 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. long,  $\frac{1}{8}$  in.— $\frac{1}{4}$  in. broad, terminal 1 $\frac{1}{2}$  in.—1 $\frac{3}{4}$  in. long,  $\frac{1}{4}$ — $\frac{3}{8}$  in. broad, argenteocanescent with appressed hairs on both surfaces; secondary nerves 11-13 pairs, parallel and very close together. Flowers in terminal racemes, laxly arranged, geminate, usually 1 long and 1 short-pedicelled. Bracts minute, subulate,  $\frac{1}{16}$  in. long. Pedicels also white-silky,  $\frac{1}{16}$ — $\frac{1}{8}$  in. long. Calyx white-silky; tube campanulate,  $\frac{1}{2}$  in. long,  $\frac{1}{8}$  in. in diameter, lobes subequal, subulate from a triangular base, almost equalling the tube,  $\frac{1}{4}$  in. long. Standard rich purple but white-silky outside, orbicular-cordate, apex emarginate,  $\frac{3}{16}$  in. long,  $\frac{1}{8}$  in. broad. Wings glabrous,  $\frac{1}{8}$  in. long. Keel  $\frac{1}{8}$  in. long. Ovary yellowish-white, sericeous,  $\frac{1}{8}$  in. long. Style incurved and slightly bent, glabrous. Stigma penicillate. Pod completely falcate or sometimes even circinate, thin, flat; with reticulations above, 3-5 seeded, mucronate, 1 $\frac{1}{2}$  in.—3 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. long,  $\frac{1}{8}$  in. broad, very sparsely appressed hairy. Seeds obscurely reniform, glaucous,  $\frac{1}{8}$  in. long.

**SIND:**—Naushahro, collected in fruit in February and in flower in October, by the local Forest Officer and communicated by Mr. R. S. Hole.

**RAJPUTANA:**—Coll. Major Roberts (sheet in the Calcutta Herbarium).

The most important peculiarity of this species lies in the pod, the shape of which varies from falcate to circinate. Adopting the division into subgenera given in the Flora of British India, this species would seem to come under *Reineria*, DC. (with the exception of the pod), but the writer is inclined to regard this as forming the type of a separate subgenus distinct from the above. The key for facilitating the recognition of the

subgenera, as far as India plants are concerned, will then be as follows :—

- A. Pods straight or very slightly incurved towards the end only ;
- (1) Leaves simple, calyx—teeth lanceolate. Macronyx.
  - (2) Leaves odd pinnate, calyx—teeth short deltoid. Brissonia.
  - (3) Leaves odd pinnate or simple, calyx—teeth narrow-subulate. Reineria.
- B. (4) Pods completely falcate or nearly circinate. Calyx—teeth narrow subulate; leaves odd pinnate. (The present species which may form the type of the new subgenus),

Of the Western India species, *Tephrosia falciformis*, Ramas., may be taken as nearest to *T. purpurea*, Pers., with which it roughly agrees in all other characters excepting the pod.

I take this opportunity of expressing my thanks to Major A. T. Gage, I.M.S., Director of the Botanical Survey, for having kindly looked over my Latin diagnosis.





## 9. NUMISMATIC SUPPLEMENT No. XXVII.

*Note.*—The numeration of the articles below is continued from p. 498 of the "Journal and Proceedings" for 1915.

### 166. SOME SMALL SILVER PIECES OF THE SULTANS OF DELHI.

[With Plate II.]

The scarcity of fractions of the silver *tanka* of the Sultans of Delhi is well known. They number possibly not more than a score all told from the time of Altamash to the end of the Suri dynasty—a period of over 300 years.

Of the following six coins, five are from my own cabinet. The sixth, a half *tanka* of Nasiru-d-din Mahmūd, is in the collection of Mr. C. S. Delmerick, late of the Opium Department. All six coins are, so far as I know, unique and are published for the first time.

#### 1. SHAMSU-D-DIN ALTAMASH

(or Altitmish).

Wt. : 83 grains.

S. : '95".

*Obverse.*—In double square within circle—three dots in each segment.

فِي عَهْدِ الْعَامِ

الْمُسْتَذْكَرُ امِيرُ

الْمُؤْمَنِينَ

*Reverse.*—Area enclosed as on obverse, but no dots in segments.

السُّلْطَانُ الْأَعْظَمُ

شَمْسُ الدِّنِيَا وَالْأَدِينَ

ابو الْمُظْفَرِ التَّقْمِشُ السُّلْطَانُ

This is the earliest half tanka of the Dehli Sultans known. It is well executed and in very fair preservation.

The circle exactly fits the flan of the coin and there is no room for any margin though probably the die contemplated one. The coin is of the type of I.M.C. No. 39 struck for issue in the cities of Hindustān (bilādu-l-Hind) with its tantalisingly defective marginal inscription on the reverse.

## 2. NĀSHIRU-D-DIN MAHMŪD.

Date.: Nil.

Wt.: ?

S.: '9".

*Obverse*.—Within double square—dots in segments.

فِي عَدْدِ الْأَصْمَامِ

الْمُنْعَصِمُ اَمِيرُ

الْمُؤْمَنَدُونَ

*Reverse*.—Within double square.

السُّلْطَانُ الْأَعْظَمُ

فَاطِرُ الدُّنْيَا وَالدِّينِ

ابُو الْمُظْفَرِ مُحَمَّدُ

السُّلْطَانُ

This is of the usual crude type that one associates with the silver coins of this king, and its weight is its main point of interest.

## 3. MU·IZZU-D-DIN KAIQUBĀD.

Date: 686 A.H.

Wt.: 56 grains.

S.: '87".

*Obverse*.—Within square—three dots in segments.

السُّلْطَانُ الْإِعْتَامِ

مُعَزُّ الدُّنْيَا وَالدِّينِ

*Reverse*.—Within square—four dots in segments.

صُرُبْ بِحُضُورِ دُعْلِيٍّ

فِي سَهْهَ سَتِ

وَ نَمَانِينَ وَ سَهْمَارِيَّةِ

This coin besides being the only one of its kind and weight known is unique in its design. The mint and date instead of being relegated to a usually defective margin occupies with commendable clearness the full area of the reverse. It was bought by me in a mixed lot at a sale in London of coins belonging to Mr. S. M. Johnston.

In the introduction to the catalogue of the coins of the Sultāns of Dehli in the Indian Museum (vol. II, p. 7) I mentioned that a single half rupee and two anna piece of this

sovereign were known. The latter which is also in my cabinet was published in J.R.A.S., July 1900, p. 484. The former is the coin above described I now find I was mistaken in calling them a half rupee and an eighth of a rupee. Their weights are 56 grains and 27·3 grains respectively. Both coins are well preserved and appear to have lost but little from their original weight. Taking the weight of the full *tanka* as 175 grains, which is the generally accepted weight though specimens exceeding 170 grains are hardly ever met with and 168 grains is a high weight, there need be no hesitation in holding that a coin of 56 grains in fine condition is not a half but a third of a *tanka*. Similarly the piece of 27·3 grains would be a sixth, and the tiny coins of Nāsiru-d-din Mahmūd, Ghiāsu-d-din Balban and Jalālu-d-din Firoz which weigh from 13 to 14 grains would be twelfths of a *tanka*, and not sixteenths or one anna pieces as hitherto they have been called.

#### 4. SHER SHĀH.

Mint : Āgra.

Date : 948.

Wt. : 85 grains.

S. : '9".

*Obverse*.—Within looped square.

#### *The Kalima.*

In the margin beginning from the bottom and working to the left.

ابوکر | عمر | عثمان | علی

*Reverse*.—Within looped square.

سلطان \*

شیر شا

خلد الله ملکه

٩٤٨

Margins—bottom	ضرب اگرہ
left	السلطان
top	العادل
right	ابوالظفر

This exquisite little coin was till recently in the cabinet of Mr. H. R. Nevill, I.C.S., Collector of Etawah, by whom it was generously given in exchange to me. Thomas mentions a half rupee of Sher Shāh of the same date, but records no details or

mint-name. Where that coin is I do not know. Dr. White King also had a  $\frac{1}{2}$  rupee in his collection of 948 H., but of the circular areas type and without any mint name (J.R.A.S. October 1900). A fourth is described below. I can call to mind no others. Thomas records a half piece of Islām Shāh, without giving details. I have never seen one myself or heard of any other. An eight-anna piece of Ibrāhīm Sūr (weight 88 grs.) was described and figured by the late Mr. C. J. Rodgers in his 4th Supplement to Thomas's "Chronicles" (J.A.S.B. 1886). The coin belonged to General Cunningham. Half rupees of the two other Sūrī Sultāns have yet to be found.

### 5. SHER SHĀH.

Mint (Shergarh).

Date : wanting.

Wt. : 83·5 grains.

S. : ·8".

*Obverse.*—Within double square.

*The Kalima.*

No margins visible.

*Reverse.*—Within double square.

شیر سلطان

شیر

خلد الله ملکه

No margins visible.

The arrangement and character of the legends on this coin and its general appearance leave no doubt that it is of the Sher-garh mint—Cf. I.M.C., Vol. II, 645.

### 6. SHER SHĀH.

Mint: *Nil.*

Date: 949.

Wt. : 7 grains.

S. : ·4".

*Obverse.*

[ شیر ]

شیر

سلطان

*Reverse.*

الله

خلد مأك

١٣٤٩

This tiny coin is much worn, and may well have lost 4 grains. This would make it a one-anna piece. I know of no other silver Sūrī coin of this weight.

In order to make this paper a little more complete I append a brief note of the other small silver pieces of the Sultāns of Dehlī which have been published or are otherwise known to me.

(a) *Nāsiru-d-dīn Mahmūd.*

(1) Wt. 13·2 grs. *Obv.* السلطان الْمَظْمُون

*Rev.* ناصر الدُّنْيَا وَالدِّين

Ref. C. J. Rodgers's 4th Supplement to Thomas's "Chronicles" (J.A.S.B. 1886), No. 15.

(2) Wt. 13·2 grs. *Obv.* السلطان الْمَظْمُون

*Rev.* as on (1).

Ref. C. J. Rodgers's 5th Supplement (J.A.S.B. 1894), No. 21.

(3) Duplicate of (2), in the cabinet of Mr. R. B. Whitehead, I.C.S. Wt. 13 grs., size ·4".

(b) *Ghiāṣu-d-dīn Balban.*

Wt. 13·8 *Obv.* السلطان الْمَظْمُون

*Rev.* غياث الدُّنْيَا وَالدِّين

Ref. C. J. Rodgers's 3rd Supplement (J.A.S.B. 1883) No. 20. Mr. Rodgers said of this coin that it was "the only small silver coin I have ever seen or heard of, of the early Pathāns."

(c) *Mu'izzu-d-dīn Kaiqubād.*

Wt. 27·3 grs. *Obv.* السلطان الْمَظْمُون

*Rev.* معز الدُّنْيَا وَالدِّين

Ref. J.R.A.S., July 1900. "Coins of the Pathān Sultāns of Dehlī: No. 7." This is in my own cabinet, and in 1900 was the only Pathān silver coin of this weight known.

(d) *Qutbu-d-dīn Mubārak.*

Wt. : 26.

S. : ·45".

*Obverse.*

السلطان

بن السلطان

*Reverse.*

شان

مبارک

This is in the cabinet of Mr. R. B. Whitehead, I.C.S.

Bareilly.

H. NELSON WRIGHT

### 167. THE BIJĀPŪR RUPEES OF 1091 A.H.

I should like to say a few words about the rare Rupees of 1091 A.H. (24 R.), which were "issued in Aurangzeb's name six years prior to the capture of Bijāpūr" by the Mughals. (Wright, I.M.C. xxxviii). Dr. G. P. Taylor has shown in Num. Supp. XV, art. 92, that there is no reason for questioning the reading of the date, and Mr. Whitehead also has accepted the fact of the issue from Bijāpūr in that year of "Rupees and half Rupees of Aurangzeb's usual silver type" (P.M.C. lix). But our knowledge of the actual circumstances under which these curious coins were uttered is still far from being complete or free from doubt and surmise. Dr. Taylor has described how that city was closely besieged in 1090 A.H. by Aurangzeb's general, Diler Khān (*not* Dilāwar Khān), how the investment was vigorously pressed in spite of the noble sacrifice of Bādshāh Bibi, how the regent Mas'ud Khān begged for the aid of Shiwāji, and how the Mughal commander was obliged to raise the siege in consequence of the Marāthās having cut off his supplies. Dr. Taylor has not mentioned his authority, but it was evidently Grant Duff (Bombay Reprint. 1873, pp. 126-130), though the same events are summarised with his usual skill in "the despatchlike narrative" of Elphinstone also. (Cowell's ed. 1866, pp. 646-7). Now Grant Duff says that "Diler Khān was compelled to abandon all hope of reducing the place," and that, when at the end of the rains, he attacked the open country and laid waste the Carnatic, Janārdhan Pant "completely defeated him, intercepted his parties, cut several of them to pieces and compelled him to retreat" (I, p. 130). But if the result of the siege was really so infructuous and abortive as Dr. Taylor's authority makes it out to have been, how can we account for this undoubted exercise by Aurangzeb of the sovereign right of issuing money? Dr. Taylor offers us the choice of two suppositions. He thinks it probable that "while the siege was proceeding, and while capitulation seemed imminent, the powerful Mughal faction in the city "caused these coins to be struck,

thinking to anticipate an inevitable surrender," but he also believes it to be "just possible" that they may have been issued from some mint accompanying the Imperial forces in the field." Dr. Taylor candidly admits that "no sufficient proof has come down to us that the Mughal assailants did actually capture the city in the year 1091," and it is clear that under the circumstances, the acceptance of some such hypothetical explanation is unavoidable. I am happy to be able to state that I have found in a contemporary Mughal historian, a passage which enables us to dispense with either of these conjectures, and which may be fairly said to be the "sufficient proof," for want of which they had to be advanced. It occurs in the *Maāsir-i-Ālamgiri*, of Muḥammad Sāqi Mustāid Khān, which was written in 1122 A.H. (1710 A.D.), that is, only three years after the death of Aurangzeb (*Bibliotheca Indica Text*, p. 8; Elliot and Dowson VII, p. 181). The author was Munshi 'Ināyat-ullāh Khān, Wazir of Bahādur Shāh, Shāh 'Alam I, and a competent critic has said of him, that "although his style be too concise, I have never met in any other author, with the relation of an event of this reign, which is not recorded in his history." (Stewart, *Descriptive Catalogue of Tippoo Sultan's Library*, p. 16). This writer says, in the course of his narrative of the events of 1091 A.H.

پانزدهم ربیع الاول از عرض داشت شاه عالم بهادر شاه بسامع بشایر مجامع رسید که در بیجاپور خطبه بنام نامی بلند نامی بافت و سکه مبارک در زیب سیم و زر افزود بساطیوسان بارگاه جاه و جلال تسلیمات مبارکباد بجای آوردند \*

[*Bibliotheca Indica Text*, p. 192.]

"On the fifteenth of Rabi I [1041 A.H.], it reached the Imperial ears (*lit.* ears around which the messengers of good tidings were always congregating), from the memorial of Shāh 'Alam Bahādur Shāh that the Khutba had been in the renowned name [of the Emperor] in Bijāpur, and that the stamping of his auspicious coin-legend had added to the lustre of silver and gold. The courtiers (*lit.* Kissers of the Carpet) of the splendid and glorious audience-hall went through the salutations of congratulation."

It is perhaps necessary to add by way of explanation that Prince Mu'azzam or Shāh 'Alam Bahādur Shāh had some time before (11 Sha'abān, 1089 A.H.) been appointed to the supreme government of the Dakhan (*Maāsir-i-Ālamgiri*. Bib. Ind. Text, p. 169), though "the command of the army in the field still remained with Diler Khān" (Grant Duff, ib., p. 128).

Whatever the circumstances which postponed for six years the extinction of Bijāpur as a separate state, there can be now

no doubt that Diler Khān had been able in 1091 A.H. to extort from its ruler, at the point of the sword, the recognition of *both* these regal privileges—the *Khutbah* and the *Sikkah*—to which Musulman sovereigns have always attached an importance, which may appear to us exaggerated, but which is really based on the fact that in those times “Stamped moneys obtruding into every bazār constituted,” as Edward Thomas has forcibly put it, “the most effective Manifestoes and Proclamations that human ingenuity could have devised to make clear to the comprehension of all classes, the immediate change in the Supreme Ruling power” (*Chronicles*, ed. 1871, pp. 1-2).

S. H. HODIVALA.

#### 168. THE GULKANDĀ RUPEES OF SHĀHJAHĀN.

The Gulkandā (Golconda) Rupees of Shāhjahān have been the subject of some speculation and difference of opinion among students of Mughal Numismatics. Mr. Nelson Wright finds it impossible to reconcile his reading of the date on I. M. C. No. 947 with the historical statements to which he attaches credit. Mr. Whitehead questions the reading itself and is not pressed by the weight of the divergence, because no coins “have yet been found bearing a *legible date*.” (P. M. C., p. xcvi). Having quoted Mr. Whitehead’s words, let me allow Mr. Nelson Wright also to state his own view of the matter. “Under Shāhjahān, the Qutb Shāhs came into collision with the Mughals, and in 1045 agreed to pay tribute and permit the Khutba to be read in the Emperor’s name. (E. D. VII. 51). Aurangzeb, when Governor of the Dakhan Sūbās, lost no time in picking a fresh quarrel which ended in 1067 in Abdullāh, the reigning King, consenting to strike coins in Shāhjahān’s name. \* \* \* Of the Shāhjahān period, four coins are catalogued, but only one of them has anything resembling a date, and that a very doubtful one, for it would place the coin earlier than 1045.” (I. M. C. xlviii).

It will be seen that the difficulty centres round the figure ‘5’ which stands for the date on I. M. C. No. 947. If Abdullāh Qutb Shāh consented to strike coins in Shāhjahān’s name only in 1067 A.H., what does the ‘5’ mean? It cannot stand for any of the four digits of 1067, and it cannot be meant for the regnal year either, because the fifth year of Shāhjahān was 1041—1042, and not 1067 A.H. But is 1067 the correct date of the first striking by the Gulkandā ruler of coins bearing the name of his Mughal suzerain? I venture to say that it is not.

The terms of the treaty which Aurangzeb dictated to Abdullāh are stated in Elphinstone’s History. They were that he was to give his daughter in marriage to Sultān Muhammad, with a dowry in territory and money; to pay a crore of rupees (£1,000,000 sterling) as the first instalment of a yearly tribute,

and promise to make up the arrears of past payments in two years." (Cowell's ed. 1866, p. 589). "He was compelled," says Grant Duff, "to give his daughter in marriage to Sultān Muhammad, and to pay up all arrears of tribute fixed by Aurangzeb at the annual sum of one crore of rupees, but Shāhjahān, in confirming these proceedings, remitted twenty lacs of the amount." (Bombay Reprint, 1873, p. 69). There is not a word in either of these authorities about the striking of coin in Shāhjahān's name, nor is there any in the verbose account of the transactions of 1067 which is given in the contemporary "Shāhjahān Nāmeh" of Ināyat Khan, and which can be read in Elliot and Dowson VII, pp. 115-116. But if no such stipulation was made in 1067 A.H., when was it made, and how did these coins come to be issued at all?

The fact is that when the Gulkandā ruler was brought to his knees in 1045 A.H. he agreed not only "to pay tribute and permit the Khutbā to be read in the Emperor's name," *but to strike coins also with the Imperial titles*. The long and minatory rescript addressed to 'Abdullāh by Shāhjahān and the exceedingly submissive if not abject, reply are quoted with evident pride and exultation by the official chronicler, 'Abdul Hamid Lāhorī, in the Bādshāh Nāmeh. (Bibliotheca Indica Text, pp. 130-133, 178-180). Both these letters are specimens of the most florid and artificial style affected by cultured Persians in official correspondence, and have been left untranslated by Dowson, whose summary of three lines is filled out with a meaningless, if not misleading 'etcetera' (E. D. VII, 51), and who dismisses the "letter of homage from Kutb-ul-Mulk" in six words. (ib. 57). Fortunately the original text is easily available. Qutb-ul-Mulk first promises that he will have the Khutbā read in the Emperor's name and adds:

و پیوسته بور زر سوچ ، سفید سکه مبارک که از درگاه عالم پناه گند  
غرضناده ازد می زد باشد \*

[Bibliotheca Indica Text, Vol. I, Part ii, p. 178.]

"The red money and the white (gold and silver) will always be stamped with the auspicious coin-legend, which has been engraved and sent to me from the Court which is the Asylum of the Universe."

The 'Ahdnāmeh or Treaty itself is afterwards quoted, and there also we find Shāhjahān saying about Qutb-ul-Mulk.

و وجوه دراهم و دنایر را بسکه مبارک ما آراسته و پیوسته ساخته قرار  
داد که همیشه بودن دقوچ در تمام آن ملک خطبه میخوانده باشند و زد  
را بسکه مبارک ما مسکوی صیفونه باشند \*

[Bib. Ind. Text, Vol. I, Part ii, pp. 210-211.]

"And [Qutb-ul-Mulk] has promised that the faces of

dirhams and the dinārs (silver money and gold money) shall be adorned with our auspicious coin-legend and that in all parts of his kingdom, the Khutba shall be read in, and money stamped with, our auspicious name."

We may therefore take it for certain that it was in 1045 A.H. and not in 1067 A.H. that Shāhjahān obtained from 'Abdullāh not one, but both of those concessions which are regarded by Musulman potentates as the most direct and unmistakable proofs of supreme power. But if 1045 is the real date, the question arises, may not the '5' of the coin be the unit of 1045? It is true that the figure is not so clear as might be wished, and Mr. Wright candidly admits it. But I venture to say that the above explanation removes the chronological objection he has raised to his own reading, and may help to finally solve the question if the reading can be substantiated.

One thing else is perhaps deserving of notice. It stands out clearly from 'Abdullāh's letter that the dies of the first issues were not permitted to be made in the local mints, and that they were sent to Gulkandā from the Imperial headquarters with the Imperial style and titles inscribed just as in the Akbarābad or Dehli mintages. Now it is not likely that new dies with altered dates were afterwards sent from the capital year after year, and it may be permitted to conjecture that I. M. C. Nos. 948-949 are later issues made from local dies, in which the titles are, as might be expected in such marks of unwilling homage, curtailed even to baldness and of which the execution also is decidedly inferior.

S. H. HODIVALA.

#### 169. THE MEANING OF *Tanki*.

The copper coins of Akbar are perhaps too plentiful to be ever the subject of keen interest among collectors. The one, two and four Tānki pieces, of which the only specimens known belong to four mints (Āgrā, Ahmadābād, Kābul and Lāhor) have, however, rarity as well as novelty to recommend them. Mr. Whitehead says in the luminous mint notes prefixed to the "Catalogue of Coins in the Punjāb Museum" (p. xxvi), that the *meaning of the word Tānki is obscure*. Apparently, it was a weight which had little or no connection with the Tankā." I venture to say that though Edward Thomas and Walter Elliot and William Erskine have held widely divergent views as to the *etymology* of the word Tankā (Chronicles ed. 1871, pp. 49 n. 224 n.), and though the *philological affinity* of *Tanka* with *Tānki* may or may not be a matter of doubt and difficulty, an attitude of suspense and reservation as to the *meaning* of either of these terms is a very different thing altogether, and is not necessarily incumbent upon the scholar in the present state of knowledge.

It is true that a lamentable confusion reigns in the different



parts and languages of this country in regard to the nomenclature of weights and measures. One has only to glance at a book like Prinsep's 'Useful Tables' to stand bewildered at the various equivalents of the *seer* and the *maund*, the *gaz* and the *Binghā*. The *Tānk* or *Tank* also has several significations assigned to it in the Dictionaries. "Tanka, Sanscrit तङ्क," says H. H. Wilson, "is a weight of silver equal to four māshās; among the Marathās, the *Tank* or *Tānk* (तङ्क, तांक) is variously rated at four or nine māshās, or as the same with a *tolā*, or the seventy-second part of a *pucca seer*; a coin, a stamped coin in general, whence it came to be applied, sometimes slightly modified, to specified coins in different metals. (Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms, s. v.). Two of the many meanings which तङ्क *Tank* bears in Sanscrit are given by Monier Williams as (1) "a weight of silver equal to four māshās, or twenty-four *Raktikas*, and (2) a stamped coin." (Sanskrit-English Dictionary, s. v.). The author of a Gujarāti-English Dictionary says તાંક, *Tānk*, is (1) the seventy-second part of a *sher* and also a standard of weight used in weighing pearls. (Belsāre, Gujarāti-English Dictionary, s. v.). Now it certainly does not make for lucidity or clarity to be told that a *Tank* or *Tānk* is equal to four māshās, and also to nine māshās, and also to a *tolā*, and also to the seventy-second part of a *pucca seer*, but all this confusion notwithstanding, it is still possible to state with confidence what Akbar or Akbar's mint masters of Āgrā, Allāhbād, Lāhor and Kābul understood by the '*Tānki*', which they inscribed in his coppers. In other words, I submit that there can be no difficulty in saying which of these different equivalents of the *Tānk* was adopted by them as the standard. Just as, in spite of all the local variations of the *seer* and the *maund*, the *Gaz* and the *Bingha* which are recorded in the *Ain-i-Akbari* and elsewhere, it has been possible to determine with such certainty, as to leave, at the worst, a very small margin of error, the weight of the Akbari *ser*, and the length of the Akbari *gaz* (Thomas' Prinsep, II, pp. 88. Elliot, Glossary, Ed. Beams, II, pp. 177-8. Thomas, Chronicles, ed. 1871, pp. 429-430). So it is possible to declare, that whatever the variations of the *Tānk* among the Marathās or the Gujarātis, the *Tānk* or *Tānki* of Akbar was about 63 grains.

For this we are indebted to an equation in the *Ain-i-Akbari*, to which I invite the attention of Numismatists. "The *Dām*," he says. "weighs 5 *tānks*, i.e., 1 *tolah*, 8 māshās and 7 surkhs. It is the fortieth part of a rupee." (Blochmann, Ain. I. 31.) Now 12 māshās make a *tolā*, and 8 surkhs or ratis make a māshā. (*Ain*. ib. 16 note) A *Dām* of Akbar's was therefore equal to  $\frac{1}{40}$  māshās, and the *Tānk*, its fifth part, was  $= \frac{1}{40} \times \frac{1}{5} = \frac{1}{200}$  māshās, = 4 māshās and  $1\frac{3}{4}$  surkhs =  $60 + 3\frac{1}{4}$  grs. at 15 grains to the māshā.

In other words, it may be predicated with confidence that the *Tānk* of Akbar was neither nine mashas, nor  $\frac{7}{9}$ nd part of a pucca seer, nor a tolāh, but 4 mashas and  $1\frac{2}{3}$  surkhs or  $63\frac{1}{2}$  grains. I need scarcely add that this tallies very nearly with the known weights of the *Tānki* pieces in our Museums which range from a maximum of  $60\frac{3}{4}$  grs. to a minimum of 56 grs.

In fact, the *Tānki* appears to have been issued to provide a fractional currency of which the basis was the fifth part of the *Dām* or rather the tenth part of the *Tānka* of about 640 grs. Of the *Dām* and the *Tānka* there were already in existence the halves, the quarters and the eighth parts. The idea appears to have occurred to some one of adopting the decimal system of division. The traditional weight of the *Tānk* happened to be exactly the tenth part of the heavy Akbari *Tankā*, and so pieces were issued which might serve equally well as the fifth part of the *Dām* or the tenth of the *Tankā*, the two-fifths of the *Dām* or the one-fifth of the *Tankā* and the four-fifths of the *Dām* or two-fifths of the *Tankā*.

S. H. HODIVALA.



1 Ob.



1 R.



2 Ob.



2 R.



3 Ob.



3 R.



4 Ob.



4 R.

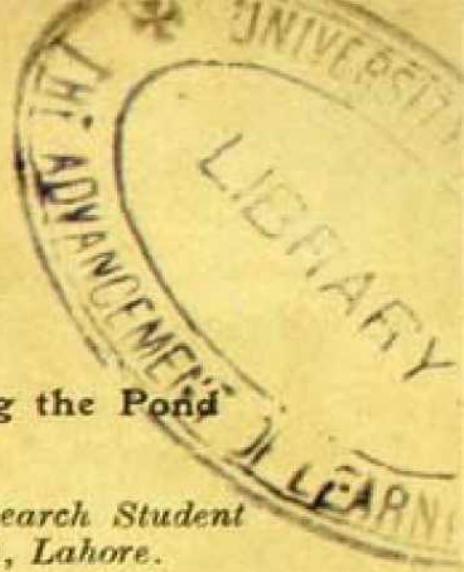


5 Ob.



5 R.

SOME SMALL SILVER PIECES OF THE SULTANS OF DELHI.



• 10. "The Seasonal Conditions Governing the Pond Life in the Punjab."

By BAINI PARSHAD, M.Sc., *Alfred Patiala Research Student of the Punjab University Government College, Lahore.*

*Communicated by Mr. S. W. KEMP.*

"Unfortunately the phenomena of periodic physical change have been little studied in the freshwater fauna of most parts of the country, and as yet we know very little indeed of the biology of the Himalayan lakes and tarns, the conditions in which resemble those to be found in similar masses of water in Europe much more closely than they do those that occur in ponds and lakes in a tropical plain."

The above passage is quoted from the introduction of Dr. Annandale's volume on the "Sponges, Polyzoa and Hydrozoa" in the Fauna of British India Series, and it was with a view to filling up this gap regarding the pond-life in the Punjab, and also to compare the conditions in the Punjab with those in Calcutta and its neighbourhood, that this work was started in 1914. Regular observations have since been made at Lahore at all times of the year, while casual ones were also made at Ferozapore and Ludhiana.

Regarding the source of the material I may add that I refer chiefly to the natural freshwater ponds or pools formed, either as a result of the rains or left on the banks of the rivers and streams owing to the main parts of the river receding in autumn, when the quantity of water in them decreases. Occasionally I have examined the artificial tanks in the pleasure gardens; but these, much to the detriment of zoological studies, undergo a periodical cleansing and are useless for continued observations. In Lahore the number of such ponds is not very large; Ludhiana and Ferozapore, however, afford very much better chances. At Ludhiana the number of natural freshwater ponds on the banks of the "Budha" stream is much larger, so also at Ferozapore on the banks of the Sutlej and the Beas rivers; moreover, these ponds are very much deeper and larger in dimensions than the Lahore ones and do not dry up entirely. Owing to the lack of rain during the last year (1915), the ponds in Lahore this year are very few and in a very poor condition, but those of Ludhiana and Ferozapore are in a condition to supply good material.

There are two well-marked seasons in the Punjab, summer and winter, which succeed each other quite abruptly, the

spring and the autumn being short and ill-defined. The winter lasts from November to March, somewhat longer in the northern than in the southern parts of the Punjab. This part of the year is very cold and practically rainless, except for a few showers in December and January. The daily temperature never rises above 70°F., but may go down to 40°F. or even lower. Towards the end of April the summer sets in, and the shade temperature goes up to 90°F., even reaching as high as 120°F. in June, remaining so till about the middle of the month of June, when the monsoon breaks and the rainy season begins. The rainy season lasts throughout August and September, during which time the atmosphere, up till now quite dry, becomes very moist owing to an increase in the atmospheric humidity, due to the heavy rainfall, as also an increased evaporation from the surface of the numerous ponds and pools resulting from the rains. The shade temperature during these months slightly falls, and the nights are rather cool. About the middle of October the nights become very much cooler, and the shade temperature during the day also decreases, till about the end of the month the winter becomes fully established.

Summing up, one may say that the climate of the Punjab during the winter is like that of most of the European countries and quite different from that of Bengal. During the summer, on the other hand, especially during May, June and July, it closely resembles that of many tropical countries. These climatic changes must exercise a very great influence on the aquatic Fauna of the Punjab; for it is clear, that the severe winter would be quite unfavourable to such animals as flourish in a tropical climate, while the equally severe summer must be quite detrimental to the animals that live in the temperate zones.

Dr. Annandale describes the climatic conditions in England on p. 3 of the work already quoted. He contrasts those that affect an Indian pond and points out that the seasonal crisis that takes place annually in the biology of the different species does not occur at the same time of year in the case of all species. With regard to an Indian pond or lake he says: "a similar crisis takes place in the case of most species, but not at the same time of the year in the case of all species. In Bengal some species flourish chiefly in winter and enter the quiescent stage at the beginning of the hot weather (that is to say about March)." The conditions in the Punjab, already described, differ considerably from those that occur in Bengal, the changes being both more sudden and more violent.

It may be stated that for any observations on periodic physical change only such animals can be selected as adopt any special means of resisting the unfavourable conditions of life for the preservation of the species.

The forms selected were (1) *Hydra oligactis*, Pallas; (2) *Spongilla carteri*, Carter (Bowerbank in Litt); (3) *Spongilla*

*lacustris*, subsp. *reticulata*, Annandale; (4) *Australella indica*, Annandale; (5) Two unidentified species of *Daphnia*; (6) Insect larvae of *Chironomus* and *Anopheles*, various species.

*Hydra oligactis*, as was observed, reproduces very actively by means of buds; this budding was observed to be the common rule, even daughter buds being formed by the buds while still attached to the parent form; this activity was continued from the middle of August to the beginning of November, when however all the individuals taken were without buds, being sluggish and rather smaller than those taken in September or October. Unfortunately after this time no more individuals could be got from the ponds, in which I had found them in abundance before, and all the individuals in my aquarium died, *Hydra* being the most difficult object to keep alive in captivity under artificial conditions. But it appeared that the individuals were at this stage preparing for the sexual phase to provide against the approaching winter; when, as in the European countries, they would produce the gonads, and later the fertilized eggs with a spiny covering. These eggs would lie dormant, till more favourable conditions set in for them to develop.

Regarding the Sponges (*Spongilla carteri* and *Spongilla lacustris* subsp. *reticulata*), it was seen that they flourish quite well from July to October, when the whole of the sponge mass begins to die, leaving the Spicule skeleton intact with a very large number of gemmules with their special coating of spicules entangled in it. Such dried sponge masses of *Spongilla carteri*, even as large as a man's head, are common sights at Ferozapore on the banks of the dried-up pools in December. These lie in this condition till the middle of June, when with the return of favourable conditions the gemmules germinate and cover up the old spicule skeleton with a new coating of the sponge substance; fresh sponge masses are also formed at this time from germinating stray gemmules.

In Polyzoa my observations were made on a new curious gelatinoid Polyzoan, *Australella indica*, Annandale, which I found for the first time at Lahore and later on at Ferozapore. This form, which is usually found infesting the leaves and stems of aquatic weeds, was seen to flourish from the beginning of July to the end of October, when it begins to die after producing free statoblasts (the only kind produced by this form) in large numbers. In November and December some individuals were still living, though the mass had died, but in January no individuals at all were living and the decayed gelatinous mass was full of statoblasts.

From the above it is clear that special devices like spiny eggs, gemmules and statoblasts are developed on the advent of the unfavourable conditions.

It may also be noted that, as long as favourable conditions last, the *Hydra* goes on reproducing asexually by budding;

the *Sponges* and *Polyzoa* sexually, to produce new independent individuals, and asexually, to form large colonies by proliferation, so that during this time the number of individuals may increase as much as possible. With the coming on of unfavourable conditions all these at once begin to produce the resistant bodies which are capable of lying dormant till the return of the more favourable weather. As on the approach of unfavourable conditions the number of individuals for the production of the resistant bodies is very large, a large number of such bodies is produced ; and even though the individuals and a large number of these resistant bodies may perish, yet the race will be preserved, and with the return of favourable conditions a large number of new individuals will at once appear.

In the case of *Daphnia* it was seen that the individuals had the "winter eggs" in the brood-pouch in January. I have also taken individuals with such fertilized eggs from other places in February and March; in these cases the individuals were dead and there was a single egg in the brood pouch of each. Specimens of *Daphnia* taken in summer on the other hand had no eggs ; they were probably breeding by means of unfertilized *parthenogenetic eggs* ; but I am not in possession of further observations on this head.

The insect larvae that were regularly observed this year were those of three species of *Chironomidae* and of two species of the *Anopheles* mosquito. In the case of these insect larvae resistant bodies like the gemmules of sponges are not produced, with the advent of the unfavourable conditions ; on the other hand it was found that the period during which a larva would be transformed into a pupa, and the latter into the imago, is very much increased, owing to the decreased vitality of the larva, due directly to the cold weather. To prove this experimentally a small jar containing the larvae of *Chironomus* was kept in an incubator at 90° F., when it was seen that these "blood-worms" became very active and pupated in three days ; as a control experiment some others were kept exposed to the ordinary conditions, and it was seen that practically no change had taken place during this time and that the larvae were lying quietly in their mucous tubes, without showing any tendency whatsoever towards pupation. That the laboratory conditions had not brought about this change in any way was further proved by the larvae in open ponds being in the same condition and by the adult fly of *Chironomus* being quite scarce at this time. A similar condition was observed in the case of the larvae and adults of *Anopheles*.

It may be suggested here that this would really be the time to plan a campaign for the destruction of the mosquitoes, its larvae and the breeding places, for, owing to the much smaller number of breeding places and the inactivity of the mosquito



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*Pond Life in the Punjab.*

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and its larvae, the cost of destruction would be much less as compared with that in the malarial season, when the mosquito is breeding with great activity, and practically every small pool and puddle serves as its breeding place.

Summing up, it may be said that the climatic conditions in the Punjab are quite different from those in Bengal, and that the season most congenial for the lower forms of life is not the winter, but the greater part of the summer, when all forms of life can flourish, and in this it resembles more the countries of Europe.



## II. A Tibetan Funeral Prayer.

By DAVASAMDUP, Head Master, State B. B. School.

### INTRODUCTION.

The authorship of this prayer is ascribed to the first great Tibetan Buddhist King-Srongtsan-sGampo during whose reign Buddhism was introduced into Tibet from Nepal and China. Srongtsan-Gampo himself was believed to have been the Incarnation of the eleven-headed Chenrezi (Avalokitesvara). And it was also Srongtsan-Gampo who first introduced the well-known Buddhist prayer of six syllables "Om-mani-padme hum." This present prayer or hymn is sung to the Refrain of "Om-mani-padme-hum." It is not only a funeral but also chanted on solemn occasions on fast days, and other Chenrezi—Holidays—on the 8th, 10th and full moon and new-moon days of the 1st, 4th, 6th and 7th months (Tibetan).

### *Refrain.*

#### 1.

Refuge mine and source of mercy, Teacher, Deity Protecting !  
Whirled am I, yea, every being, on the Wheel of Births and  
Dyings.

Were our bones heaped up, they surely would outweigh the  
Triple Loka.

Then descend, O Lord, and grant me refuge, Thou my precious  
Guru !

Save me from Samsara's whirlpool, highest, noblest Lord,  
Chenrezi !

#### 2.

Full nine months, the tenth preparing, in the womb my mother  
bore me,

Till of heat and cold the working forced me down the bony  
pathway.

Naked on the naked ground I fell and entered thus existence.  
Then descend, etc., etc.

#### 3.

Impious though garbed in yellow, I am Prince most hypo-  
critic.

Come unto my stature's fullness, unto manhood's years  
attained,

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Still I find from birth and sickness, age and death no full salvation.

Then descend, etc., etc.

4.

Straight and strong was this my body in the days of youth and manhood,

Now it stoops and leans all forward, and from side to side it staggers.

From my mouth my teeth have fallen; wish to chew my food is bootless.

Then descend, etc., etc.

5.

My once handsome face is wrinkled, furrow deep o'erlaid on furrow.

Dimmed the lustre, weak the vision, of mine eyes once bright and piercing.

Forms and scenes I see but dimly. In my walk I halt and totter.

Then descend, etc., etc.

6.

Hard of hearing am I rendered, laughed at, made a mock by others.

My once strong and manly figure, reft of seemly form and substance,

Now is but a bony framework with a flabby skin o'ercovered.

Hard for me to win by labour even the scantiest food and raiment.

Then descend, etc., etc.

7.

Now grown weak and old and ugly, wretched, woeful my appearance.

Never youth now heeds my counsel, rather do they jeer and flout me.

Grieved and hurt I utter curses. Dead I wish myself and others.

Then descend, etc., etc.

8.

By decree of Karma's mandate, piercing pangs of sickness seize me.

As is solar, lunar splendour swallowed up by envious Rahu,  
So the brightness of my visage fails and fades to sickly pallor.

Then descend, etc., etc.



## 9.

Now come friends and kinsfolk anxious round the bedside of  
the sufferer.  
Pressing on him food and dainties, which, alas! are left  
untasted.  
Vain their various arts to cure him; fail alike priest and  
physician.  
And the body's filth is voided, where it lies, upon the bed-  
clothes.

Then descend, etc., etc.

## 10.

Rich foods only rouse his loathing. Shrinks his upper lip all  
pallid.  
Downward droop the nostril corners. All his teeth are full of  
foulness,  
Nothing is there that doth please him save a draught of clear,  
cool water.  
Draweth nigh the hour of parting, and his last requests he  
stammers.

Then descend, etc., etc.

## 11.

Fondly, anxiously he gazes on the face of friend and kinsman.  
Seek his hands the hands and clothing of all those he leaves  
behind him.  
More and more gives forth his body coming death's peculiar  
odour.

Then descend, etc., etc.

## 12.

All his days and deeds are ended; nearer draw the pangs that  
sunder.  
Matter from its comrade Spirit, sure and certain as night's  
coming.  
Or like to a light that flickers, when, oil spent, it soon must  
vanish,  
He can stay no moment longer or withhold the parting spirit.  
Then descend, etc., etc.

## 13.

Clutch and claw the nerveless fingers. "O, I die!" he cries,  
appealing.  
When has ceased the laboured breathing, then is known that  
life has parted.



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Friends and riches left behind him, he must go alone his journey.

Then descend, etc., etc.

14.

Sinks inert the earthly portion, and uncoils the nervous spiral  
Situate in the navel region, and the limbs can move no longer.  
Cold and clammy perspirations glaze the eyes, bedew the features.

Then descend, etc., etc.

15.

Then subsides the watery portion, and uncoils the nervous spiral  
In the heart's recesses seated, and is lost the sense of feeling.  
Nose and mouth outside are parched; dry are also both the nostrils.

Then descend, etc., etc.

16.

Sinketh next the fiery portion. This uncoils the nervous spiral  
In the throat's base situated, and departs all heat of body.  
No more food or any liquid can adown the throat find passage.  
Both the hearing organs fail him; outward sounds rouse no impression.

Then descend, etc., etc.

17.

Next gives way the airy portion; back uncoils the nervous spiral  
Seated in the brain's recesses. Then doth fail the inward breathing,  
And the rattling and the gurgling, tongue and utterance paralyses.

Then descend, etc., etc.

18.

Down doth fall the spark of Bodhi, white and bright and blinding, glaring;  
Up ascends the life-spark vital; where they meet it gloweth fiercely.  
Paralysed is central nerve-path; sight is sealed in gloom and darkness.

Then descend, etc., etc.



## 19.

Then the eighty powers of knowing gradually are extinguished.  
Mahamudra's light resplendent fills the chamber intellectual;  
Shines that light in its true nature, supersensuous, transcendent.

Then descend, etc., etc.

## 20.

Then approach the Lamas pious, sanctifying rites performing.  
Food and drink from friends and kinsmen then receives the  
body lifeless,  
And the name it bore is shouted as their breasts with fists  
belabour.

Then descend, etc., etc.

## 21.

Next the limbs are harshly doubled, bound with well-spun  
cordage hempen.  
Loving friends "Good-bye!" now utter, as their bitter tears  
are falling.  
From its customed bed is taken corpse to final place of resting.  
Then descend, etc., etc.

## 22.

Either then the form is carried to the top of rock or mountain,  
Chopped and quartered, flung to vulture, fox or dog or wolf or  
jackal,  
Welcome banquet thus providing bird and beast that live on  
carrion.  
Then descend, etc., etc.

## 23.

Or adown the stream'tis floated, down some torrent's rushing  
waters,  
Urine, blood and pus commingling with the element surround-  
ing;  
Flesh and fat there gnaw and nibbled by the greedy fish and  
otters.  
Then descend, etc., etc.

## 24.

Or the body is consumed, placed upon the pyre funeral,  
Changed into a heap of ashes, flesh and skin and bone entirely,  
And they sniff the smell of burning,—the Gandharvas and  
Apsaras.

Then descend, etc., etc.



## 25.

Or below the earth 'tis buried, giving forth a stench most loathsome.  
Countless worms and hateful insects suck, and creep and crawl about it,  
In the skin and flesh delighting, on the carcase richly feasting.  
Then descend, etc., etc.

## 26.

Seized is all the wealth and riches by the person gone up-gathered.  
But with Karmic fruit down-weighted of his ways that were of evil,  
He is to the awful presence of the Lord of Death conducted.  
Then descend, etc., etc.

## 27.

Down the slope so deep and dizzy of the three most wretched regions,  
Aimless, cheerless, all uncertain, like a poor storm-driven feather,  
Karmic winds do drive the spirit whither dangers wait in ambush.  
Then descend, etc., etc.

## 28.

Wherefore now, though youth, the better part of life, has passed all vainly,  
Henceforth do I firm determine, well to spend my life's remainder.  
Staunch in aim while life shall last me, thou shalt ever be my master.  
Then descend, O Lord, and grant me refuge, thou my precious Guru!  
Save me from Samsara's whirlpool, highest, noblest Lord, Chenrezi!



三

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କଶ.ମୁଦ.ଶ୍ରୀ.ମାତ୍ରମାନ.ବେଣ୍ଟ.ଯେ.କୁଚ.ଶୁଷ୍ମା.ନ ॥ ୧୩.୮.୫  
ଶ୍ରୀ.ଶ୍ରୀ.କର୍ତ୍ତବୀ.ପତ୍ନୀ.ପତ୍ନୀ.ପତ୍ନୀ.ପତ୍ନୀ ॥ ୧୩.୮.୬  
ପତ୍ନୀ.ଯେ.ଶୁଷ୍ମା.ମୁଦ.ମୁଦ ॥ ୧୩.୮.୭

4.

॥ ଶକ୍ତିରେଣୁମାନୀଯାଙ୍କାରୀ  
ପଦମାନାବ୍ୟାକରଣିକାରୀ ॥

5.

ଶୈଶ.ପର୍ବତ.ପର୍ବତ.ପର୍ବତ.ପର୍ବତ.ପର୍ବତ ॥  
 ଶୈଶ.ପର୍ବତ.ପର୍ବତ.ପର୍ବତ.ପର୍ବତ.ପର୍ବତ ॥  
 ଶୈଶ.ପର୍ବତ.ପର୍ବତ.ପର୍ବତ.ପର୍ବତ.ପର୍ବତ ॥  
 ଶୈଶ.ପର୍ବତ.ପର୍ବତ.ପର୍ବତ.ପର୍ବତ.ପର୍ବତ ॥  
 ଶୈଶ.ପର୍ବତ.ପର୍ବତ.ପର୍ବତ.ପର୍ବତ.ପର୍ବତ ॥

6.

ଶୈଶ.ପର୍ବତ.ପର୍ବତ.ପର୍ବତ.ପର୍ବତ.ପର୍ବତ ॥  
 ଶୈଶ.ପର୍ବତ.ପର୍ବତ.ପର୍ବତ.ପର୍ବତ.ପର୍ବତ ॥  
 ଶୈଶ.ପର୍ବତ.ପର୍ବତ.ପର୍ବତ.ପର୍ବତ.ପର୍ବତ ॥  
 ଶୈଶ.ପର୍ବତ.ପର୍ବତ.ପର୍ବତ.ପର୍ବତ.ପର୍ବତ ॥  
 ଶୈଶ.ପର୍ବତ.ପର୍ବତ.ପର୍ବତ.ପର୍ବତ.ପର୍ବତ ॥

7.

ଶୈଶ.ପର୍ବତ.ପର୍ବତ.ପର୍ବତ.ପର୍ବତ.ପର୍ବତ ॥  
 ଶୈଶ.ପର୍ବତ.ପର୍ବତ.ପର୍ବତ.ପର୍ବତ.ପର୍ବତ ॥  
 ଶୈଶ.ପର୍ବତ.ପର୍ବତ.ପର୍ବତ.ପର୍ବତ.ପର୍ବତ ॥  
 ଶୈଶ.ପର୍ବତ.ପର୍ବତ.ପର୍ବତ.ପର୍ବତ.ପର୍ବତ ॥

8.

ଶୈଶ.ପର୍ବତ.ପର୍ବତ.ପର୍ବତ.ପର୍ବତ.ପର୍ବତ ॥  
 ଶୈଶ.ପର୍ବତ.ପର୍ବତ.ପର୍ବତ.ପର୍ବତ.ପର୍ବତ ॥  
 ଶୈଶ.ପର୍ବତ.ପର୍ବତ.ପର୍ବତ.ପର୍ବତ.ପର୍ବତ ॥  
 ଶୈଶ.ପର୍ବତ.ପର୍ବତ.ପର୍ବତ.ପର୍ବତ.ପର୍ବତ ॥



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10.

ସତ୍ୟକର୍ମାବିଦ୍ୟାପରେଣ୍ଯାଧିକୀୟ ହୁଏଥାବୁବ୍ରାନ୍ତିକାବୁ  
ବୁଦ୍ଧାବୁଦ୍ଧିକଷାକୁ ପରିଚ୍ଛନ୍ନାବୁଦ୍ଧିକଷାକୁ ପରିଚ୍ଛନ୍ନାବୁ  
ବୁଦ୍ଧାବୁଦ୍ଧିକଷାକୁ ପରିଚ୍ଛନ୍ନାବୁଦ୍ଧିକଷାକୁ ପରିଚ୍ଛନ୍ନାବୁ  
ବୁଦ୍ଧାବୁଦ୍ଧିକଷାକୁ ପରିଚ୍ଛନ୍ନାବୁଦ୍ଧିକଷାକୁ ପରିଚ୍ଛନ୍ନାବୁ

11.

12.

ସମ୍ବନ୍ଧରେ କିମ୍ବା କିମ୍ବା କିମ୍ବା କିମ୍ବା କିମ୍ବା କିମ୍ବା କିମ୍ବା

13.

ଶ୍ରୀପଦେବାକ୍ଷରିତମାତ୍ରାନୁଷ୍ଠାନିକାର୍ଯ୍ୟରେ  
ଶ୍ରୀପଦେବାକ୍ଷରିତମାତ୍ରାନୁଷ୍ଠାନିକାର୍ଯ୍ୟରେ  
ଶ୍ରୀପଦେବାକ୍ଷରିତମାତ୍ରାନୁଷ୍ଠାନିକାର୍ଯ୍ୟରେ  
ଶ୍ରୀପଦେବାକ୍ଷରିତମାତ୍ରାନୁଷ୍ଠାନିକାର୍ଯ୍ୟରେ  
ଶ୍ରୀପଦେବାକ୍ଷରିତମାତ୍ରାନୁଷ୍ଠାନିକାର୍ଯ୍ୟରେ

14.

ଶ୍ରୀପଦେବାକ୍ଷରିତମାତ୍ରାନୁଷ୍ଠାନିକାର୍ଯ୍ୟରେ  
ଶ୍ରୀପଦେବାକ୍ଷରିତମାତ୍ରାନୁଷ୍ଠାନିକାର୍ଯ୍ୟରେ  
ଶ୍ରୀପଦେବାକ୍ଷରିତମାତ୍ରାନୁଷ୍ଠାନିକାର୍ଯ୍ୟରେ  
ଶ୍ରୀପଦେବାକ୍ଷରିତମାତ୍ରାନୁଷ୍ଠାନିକାର୍ଯ୍ୟରେ

15.

ଶ୍ରୀପଦେବାକ୍ଷରିତମାତ୍ରାନୁଷ୍ଠାନିକାର୍ଯ୍ୟରେ  
ଶ୍ରୀପଦେବାକ୍ଷରିତମାତ୍ରାନୁଷ୍ଠାନିକାର୍ଯ୍ୟରେ  
ଶ୍ରୀପଦେବାକ୍ଷରିତମାତ୍ରାନୁଷ୍ଠାନିକାର୍ଯ୍ୟରେ  
ଶ୍ରୀପଦେବାକ୍ଷରିତମାତ୍ରାନୁଷ୍ଠାନିକାର୍ଯ୍ୟରେ

16.

ଶ୍ରୀପଦେବାକ୍ଷରିତମାତ୍ରାନୁଷ୍ଠାନିକାର୍ଯ୍ୟରେ  
ଶ୍ରୀପଦେବାକ୍ଷରିତମାତ୍ରାନୁଷ୍ଠାନିକାର୍ଯ୍ୟରେ  
ଶ୍ରୀପଦେବାକ୍ଷରିତମାତ୍ରାନୁଷ୍ଠାନିକାର୍ଯ୍ୟରେ  
ଶ୍ରୀପଦେବାକ୍ଷରିତମାତ୍ରାନୁଷ୍ଠାନିକାର୍ଯ୍ୟରେ



17.

କୁର୍ମାପତିଶୀଳାଦଶ୍ଶିମ୍ବନ୍ଧୁକୁର୍ମାପତିଶୀଳାଦଶ୍ଶିମ୍ବନ୍ଧୁ ॥  
 କୁର୍ମାପତିଶୀଳାଦଶ୍ଶିମ୍ବନ୍ଧୁକୁର୍ମାପତିଶୀଳାଦଶ୍ଶିମ୍ବନ୍ଧୁ ॥  
 କୁର୍ମାପତିଶୀଳାଦଶ୍ଶିମ୍ବନ୍ଧୁକୁର୍ମାପତିଶୀଳାଦଶ୍ଶିମ୍ବନ୍ଧୁ ॥  
 କୁର୍ମାପତିଶୀଳାଦଶ୍ଶିମ୍ବନ୍ଧୁକୁର୍ମାପତିଶୀଳାଦଶ୍ଶିମ୍ବନ୍ଧୁ ॥  
 କୁର୍ମାପତିଶୀଳାଦଶ୍ଶିମ୍ବନ୍ଧୁକୁର୍ମାପତିଶୀଳାଦଶ୍ଶିମ୍ବନ୍ଧୁ ॥

18

19.

ହନ୍ତିରେ ପର୍ବତୀରେ ଦୁଇମାତ୍ରାଙ୍କ ପରିଷାରରେ  
ହନ୍ତିରେ ପର୍ବତୀରେ ଦୁଇମାତ୍ରାଙ୍କ ପରିଷାରରେ  
ହନ୍ତିରେ ପର୍ବତୀରେ ଦୁଇମାତ୍ରାଙ୍କ ପରିଷାରରେ

20

21.

ସତ୍ୟ.ପ୍ରସାଦଗୁଣକୁଳ.ଶ୍ରୀ.ପ୍ରଜା.ମହାପଞ୍ଜୁନ ॥      ଅପ୍ରକାଶ.  
 ପ୍ରସାଦ.ଶ୍ରୀ.ପାତେ.ଶ୍ରୀ.ପାତେ ॥      ପରିମାଣ.ପାତେ.ଶ୍ରୀ.ପାତେ ॥  
 ଅପ୍ରକାଶ.ପାତେ ॥      ଅପ୍ରକାଶ.ପାତେ.ଶ୍ରୀ.ପାତେ ॥      ପରିମାଣ.  
 ଶ୍ରୀ.ପାତେ.ଶ୍ରୀ.ପାତେ ॥      ଅପ୍ରକାଶ.ଶ୍ରୀ.ପାତେ ॥

22.

ସତ୍ୟ.ପ୍ରସାଦ.ଶ୍ରୀ.ପାତେ.ଶ୍ରୀ.ପାତେ ॥      ଯତ୍ପରା.ଶ୍ରୀ.ପାତେ.ଶ୍ରୀ.ପାତେ.  
 ଅପ୍ରକାଶ.ଶ୍ରୀ.ପାତେ ॥      ପରିମାଣ.ଶ୍ରୀ.ପାତେ ॥      ଅପ୍ରକାଶ.  
 ପାତେ.ଶ୍ରୀ.ପାତେ ॥      ପରିମାଣ.ଶ୍ରୀ.ପାତେ.ଶ୍ରୀ.ପାତେ ॥      ଅପ୍ରକାଶ.  
 ଶ୍ରୀ.ପାତେ ॥

23.

ସତ୍ୟ.ପ୍ରସାଦ.ଶ୍ରୀ.ପାତେ.ଶ୍ରୀ.ପାତେ ॥      ପରିମାଣ.ଶ୍ରୀ.ପାତେ.ଶ୍ରୀ.ପାତେ.  
 ଅପ୍ରକାଶ.ଶ୍ରୀ.ପାତେ ॥      ପରିମାଣ.ଶ୍ରୀ.ପାତେ.ଶ୍ରୀ.ପାତେ ॥      ଅପ୍ରକାଶ.  
 ପାତେ.ଶ୍ରୀ.ପାତେ ॥      ପରିମାଣ.ଶ୍ରୀ.ପାତେ.ଶ୍ରୀ.ପାତେ ॥      ଅପ୍ରକାଶ.  
 ଶ୍ରୀ.ପାତେ ॥

24.

ସତ୍ୟ.ପ୍ରସାଦ.ଶ୍ରୀ.ପାତେ ॥      ପରିମାଣ.ଶ୍ରୀ.ପାତେ ॥  
 ଅପ୍ରକାଶ.ଶ୍ରୀ.ପାତେ ॥      ପରିମାଣ.ଶ୍ରୀ.ପାତେ ॥      ଅପ୍ରକାଶ.  
 ପାତେ.ଶ୍ରୀ.ପାତେ ॥      ପରିମାଣ.ଶ୍ରୀ.ପାତେ ॥      ଅପ୍ରକାଶ.  
 ଶ୍ରୀ.ପାତେ ॥

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25.

၁၃၁။ မြန်မာရှိသူများ၏ အကျဉ်းချုပ်များ

26.

ସମ୍ବନ୍ଧରେ କିମ୍ବା କିମ୍ବା କିମ୍ବା କିମ୍ବା କିମ୍ବା କିମ୍ବା  
କିମ୍ବା କିମ୍ବା କିମ୍ବା କିମ୍ବା କିମ୍ବା କିମ୍ବା କିମ୍ବା କିମ୍ବା  
କିମ୍ବା କିମ୍ବା କିମ୍ବା କିମ୍ବା କିମ୍ବା କିମ୍ବା କିମ୍ବା କିମ୍ବା  
କିମ୍ବା କିମ୍ବା କିମ୍ବା କିମ୍ବା କିମ୍ବା କିମ୍ବା କିମ୍ବା କିମ୍ବା

27.

ମନ୍ତ୍ରାଶ୍ରଦ୍ଧା.ମନୁଷ୍ୟ.ଶ୍ରୀ.ମନ୍ଦିର.ଶର୍ମ.ପ୍ରଦ୍ୟାନ୍ତି.କେ ॥ ଦୁଃଖ.ଏଣ୍ଟ.ଏହିକାଳେ  
ପାଞ୍ଚାଂଶ୍ଚାଶ୍ରଦ୍ଧା.ପାଞ୍ଚାଂଶ୍ଚାଶ୍ରଦ୍ଧା.ପାଞ୍ଚାଂଶ୍ଚାଶ୍ରଦ୍ଧା ॥ ପାଞ୍ଚାଂଶ୍ଚାଶ୍ରଦ୍ଧା.ପାଞ୍ଚାଂଶ୍ଚାଶ୍ରଦ୍ଧା.ପାଞ୍ଚାଂଶ୍ଚାଶ୍ରଦ୍ଧା ॥

28.

କେ.ଶ୍ରୀ.ପଦମାତ୍ରା.ବିଜୁ.ପାତ୍ରା ॥ ୧୦ ॥      କେ.ଶ୍ରୀ.ପଦମାତ୍ରା.ବିଜୁ.ପାତ୍ରା  
ପଦମାତ୍ରା ॥      କେ.ଶ୍ରୀ.ପଦମାତ୍ରା.ବିଜୁ.ପାତ୍ରା ॥      କେ.ଶ୍ରୀ.ପଦମାତ୍ରା.  
ପଦମାତ୍ରା.ବିଜୁ.ପାତ୍ରା ॥      କେ.ଶ୍ରୀ.ପଦମାତ୍ରା.ବିଜୁ.ପାତ୍ରା ॥



## 12. Note on the Constituents of the Bark of the *Hymenodictyon Excelsum*.

By CHARLES STANLEY GIBSON and JOHN LIONEL  
SIMONSEN.

[Read at the 3rd Indian Science Congress.]

A large number of barks are made use of in this country for medicinal purposes, although their action is in many cases obscure, and only in a few cases has a therapeutically active principle been isolated. It has, therefore, seemed to the authors a matter of considerable interest to subject some of these barks to a more careful chemical examination in order to clear up many anomalies and contradictions.

The first bark selected for this purpose was the bark of the *Hymenodictyon excelsum*, a bark which according to the *Pharmacographia Indica* (Vol. II, p. 193) is used as a tonic, a febrifuge, and also as an astringent.

This bark was first subjected to a chemical examination by Broughton in 1870, and subsequently Naylor (*Pharm. Journ.* 1893, 14. 311, 1884, 15. 195) investigated it much more thoroughly. Broughton showed that it contained a glucoside, aesculin, and that on keeping the bark lost its bitter flavour owing to the hydrolysis of the glucoside with formation of aesculetin (scopoletin). Naylor, on the other hand, succeeded in isolating a crystalline alkaloid to which he gave the name hymenodictine and the formula  $C_{24}H_{41}N_3$  and also an amorphous neutral substance of the formula  $C_{22}H_{45}G_{10}$ <sup>1</sup>.

From the results obtained by Naylor it seemed possible to us that the alkaloid might be of therapeutic value and furthermore, since it was one of the few alkaloids which do not contain oxygen, it should be of considerable scientific interest, and we decided, therefore, to attempt its isolation.

For this purpose three different specimens of the bark were subjected to a careful examination. The first specimen was obtained from the Calcutta Museum by the kindness of Mr. I. H. Burkill, the then Reporter on Economic Products, whilst the other two specimens were obtained for us by Dr. J. R. Henderson, Superintendent of the Madras Museum, and we wish to take this opportunity of expressing our thanks to these gentlemen for their assistance.

<sup>1</sup> This formula is obviously incorrect, containing as it does an odd number of hydrogen atoms.



An examination of the bark by the methods described in the experimental part of this note has confirmed the results obtained by Broughton. We have isolated aesculin and scopoletin, but we have been unable to find any traces of an alkaloid. It would, therefore, appear that Naylor cannot have examined the bark of the *Hymenodictyon excelsum*, but must have been dealing with some other bark.

### *Experimental.*

A preliminary extraction with Prolli's fluid having shown the absence of any alkaloid, several methods were tried for the extraction of the bark, but as the results obtained were in each case practically identical, it will only be necessary to describe briefly one of the methods used.

The finely powdered bark (1 kilo) was thoroughly mixed with purified sand and extracted by percolation with hot alcohol, when a dark brown extract was obtained which showed a strong yellowish green fluorescence. After removing the alcohol, the residual oil was mixed with a little water and repeatedly extracted with ether. The combined ethereal extracts were washed in turn with dilute hydrochloric acid (A), sodium carbonate solution (B), and sodium hydroxide solution (C). The ethereal extract was dried and evaporated, when a viscous oil remained. This was subjected to distillation in steam, when a trace of oil passed over (0.5 gram) which possessed a distinctly camphoraceous smell. The residual oil remaining after the distillation was found to consist of a mixture of glycerides which were not subjected to a detailed examination.

The original aqueous solution which had been extracted with ether was concentrated, when a small quantity of a crystalline solid separated. This was purified by repeated crystallisation from hot water when it was obtained in fine needles which after drying at 100°, melted at 160° and evidently consisted of aesculin, since when mixed with a specimen of aesculin from another source the melting point was found to be unaltered.

The hydrochloric extract (A) was basified and extracted with ether, the ether dried and evaporated when a trace of a resinous substance remained. This substance could not be crystallized, but it showed no alkaloidal properties.

The strongly fluorescent sodium carbonate solution (B) was acidified, when a quantity of a thick brown oil was deposited. This was ground up with ether when the oil readily dissolved, leaving a colourless crystalline solid. This was collected and recrystallized from dilute alcohol, when it was obtained in colourless prismatic needles melting at 203°. The alkaline solution showed a beautiful blue fluorescence.



0·1063 gave 0·243 CO<sub>2</sub> and 0·043 H<sub>2</sub>O : C = 62·4, H = 4·5.

C<sub>10</sub>H<sub>8</sub>O<sub>2</sub> requires C = 62·5, H = 4·2 per cent.

This substance was scopoletin, 4-hydroxy-5-methoxy coumarin (see Moore, Chem. Soc. Trans. 1911.99.1043). The correctness of this view was confirmed by the preparation of the *acetyl* derivative which melted, as stated by Moore, at 177°.

The ethereal solution from which the scopoletin had been separated was found to contain a mixture of fatty acids which have not so far been subjected to detailed examination.

The sodium hydroxide solution (C), on acidification, yielded a further quantity of scopoletin which had escaped extraction with sodium carbonate.

In conclusion we may mention that Capt. A. C. Ingram, M.D., I.M.S., very kindly tried the effect of the extract of the bark on two frogs (subcutaneous injection), but was unable to detect any physiological action.



13. Notes on a unique History of Herat, discovered in the  
Bûhâr Collection of MSS. in the Imperial Library,  
Calcutta.

By KHÂN SÂHIB MAULAVÎ 'ABDUL MUQTADIR, *Oriental  
Public Library, Bankipur.*

The Bûhâr collection of MSS., for Orientalists the most important section of the Imperial Library, Calcutta, consists of more than nine hundred Arabic and Persian MSS. representing the various branches of Muhammadan literature. Chance directed me to a Persian MS. containing a history of Herat, composed in the beginning of the eighth century, between A.H. 721 (A.D. 1321) and 729 (A.D. 1329), by an author who himself was an eye-witness of most of the events that he narrates.

I have seen no notice of the existence of this work in any of the catalogues of European or Indian libraries, and what is more astonishing it seems to have been unknown to the celebrated Hâjî Khalifah as well as to many other bibliographers. It is however mentioned by the author of the Raudât-ul-Jannât as one of his sources. I have no hesitation in saying that this rare volume is the most valuable literary gem of the Imperial Library. That it should have remained hidden for the last six hundred years is surprising and obviously regrettable.

The MS. is of a folio size, measuring 12" x 9", and consists of 275 folios with 25 lines to a page. It is written in a beautiful bold and learned Naskh hand with fine rubrics, on creamy white paper. It is in a damaged condition but fortunately no page seems to be missing. The date of transcription is not given, but the nature of the handwriting and the general aspect of the MS. tend to suggest that the copy was made shortly after the composition of the work. The following note on the fly-leaf in the handwriting of 'Inâyat Khân (d. A.H. 1077 = A.D. 1666), the celebrated historian and Librarian of the Emperor Shâh Jahân, proves that this valuable MS. once belonged to, and was held in high esteem by, the aforesaid 'Inâyat Khân and his illustrious father Zafar Khân, Governor of Kâbul and Kashmir (d. A.H. 1073 = A.D. 1663), both authors of distinction. 'Inâyat Khân says that this history of the Maliks of Herat, which belonged to his deceased father, reached Kashmir from Lahore at the end of Ramadân, A.H. 1047 (A.D. 1664). The note runs thus :—

تاریخ ملکان هراة بابت اموال والد صریح سلطان رمضان المباری  
 سنه ۱۴۰۷هـ از لاهور بکشمیر رسید و داخل عاریت خانه گردید حموده  
 عبايت خان ظفر خان \*

The same fly-leaf bears an illuminated star, now rather faded, and several notes, seals, and signatures of the nobles and *Amirs* of the Timuride sovereigns of India.

The author does not choose any distinct title for the work but calls it in several places simply تاریخ نامه or "the book of history." In 'Ināyat Khān's note, quoted above, it is called تاریخ ملکان هراة "the history of the Maliks of Herat"; while the author of the Raudāt-ul-Jannāt, who freely borrows his account from this work, designates it as تاریخ ملوك کرت and also تاریخ آل کرت.

The scanty time at my disposal has not permitted me to collect materials from external sources for a biographical notice of the author, and the following information has been gathered exclusively from the work itself.

In the preface the author designates himself Sayf ibn Muhammād bin Ya'qūb al-Harawī سیف ابن محمد بن یعقوب الهردی, but later on in the course of his narrative, he always calls himself by the simple name of Sayfī Harawī سیفی هروی, the first part of which he adopted as his poetical *nom-de-plume*. In recording the events of the year A.H. 687 (A.D. 1288) he tells us that he was then six years old. He must have been born then in A.H. 681 (A.D. 1282). He says that before composing this work he wrote a treatise on ethics called Majmū'ah-i-Giyāṣī to secure himself an introduction to Malik Giyāṣ-ud-Dīn Kurt, the fourth King of Herat of the Kurt race, who ruled from A.H. 708 to 729 (A.D. 1308 to 1329). We also learn that he dedicated both these works to his patron, the aforesaid king. Later on he mentions that he wrote a poem of 20,000 lines in which he gave an account of the exploits of Jamāl-ud-Dīn Muhammād Sām, who killed Dānishmand Bahādur in A.H. 706 (A.D. 1306). This he wrote for the aforesaid Jamāl-ud-Dīn Sām after whose name he called it Sām Nāmah سام نامه. Sayfi was also a panegyrist of Maik Fakhr-ud-Dīn, the third King of the Kurt race (A.H. 684-708 = A.D. 1285-1308) in whose praise he composed eighty Qaṣidahs and one hundred and fifty Qit'ahs: جمع کنندہ این تاریخ نامہ را در مدح او هشتاد قصيدة و صد و پنجاه قطعه است \*

On one occasion, we are told, Sayfi was arrested as a traitor by the order of Būjāi and very narrowly escaped death.

This happened in A.H. 706 = A.D. 1306, when Bûjâi, son of Dânishmand, attacked Herat. It seems that some of his enemies brought to the ears of Bûjâi that there lived in Herat a poet called Sayfi, who had been a panegyrist of Malik Fakhrud-Dîn Kurt and had composed a book called Sâm Nâmah for Jamâl-ud-Dîn Muhammad Sâm, the murderer of Bûjâi's father Dânishmand Bahâdur. It was full of the praise of the Harawîs and the Gûris and severely condemned the expedition of Bûjâi against Herat. Sayfi was arrested and bastinadoed and then taken before Bûjâi. Bûjâi sent for the Sâm Nâmah and examined it. He saw that it consisted of fifty juz and contained beautiful paintings and illustrations. At the place too where he opened the book he saw Sayfi had described the glory and grandeur of Bûjâi's father and his followers. This created a favourable impression upon Bûjâi's mind and he took it for granted that the book was devoted to the praise of his father. Nevertheless Bûjâi ordered the execution of the author on the ground that he was a panegyrist of his (Bûjâi's) enemies. Sayfi was then placed in the row of the criminals who were to be beheaded for joining the plot against Bûjâi's father, but happily he and another man, out of seventy-eight persons, were released after they had signed bonds of servitude to Bûjâi—

بندۀ را در سلک قاتلان داشمدد بهادر منخرط گردانیدند چون حیاتی  
 باقی بود از میان هفتاد و هشت تن بندۀ و شخصی حسن مقرب نام بعد  
 از آنکه بیوچای خط بندگی و گذاه کاری دادند خلاص یافتد باقی را بقتل  
 رسانیدند علیهم الرحمه و الرضوان \*

He further states that after the arrest of his patron Jâmal ud-Dîn Sâm by Bûjâi, he (Sayfi) happened to meet one night the unhappy prisoner at Fâriyâb and saw that he had a chain of twelve maunds on his left leg fastened tightly to his right wrist.

We learn further that our author's teacher was Maulânâ Malik-ul-Hukamâ Sa'd-ud-Dîn Hakîm Munajjim Gûrî مولانا ملک الحکما سعد الدین حکیم منجم غوری \* who was at first a noble at the court of Malik Shams-ud-Dîn Kurt, on whose death in A.H. 705 (A.D. 1305) he composed a beautiful Qit'ah, quoted by Sayfi and several other subsequent authors. After Shams-ud-Dîn's death Sa'd-ud-Dîn became a favourite courtier of Sultân Giyâş-ud-Dîn whose favour and full confidence he enjoyed.

As to the reason for composing this work the author gives us to understand that after writing his Majmû'ah-i-Giyâshi, which earned the praises of his patron Giyâş-ud-Dîn, he was told by the said king that as there existed no historical record of the events that had taken place in Herat from the time of

Chingiz Khân down to his own, he (Sayfi) should write a history of that period basing his accounts exclusively on reliable sources.

The exact date of composition cannot be ascertained, but internal evidence tends to show that it was completed between A.H. 721 and 729 (A.D. 1321 and 1329) after a labour of two and a half years. In the beginning as well as towards the end of the work we find the name of his patron associated with such words as \* حاجی سلطان العاج etc., from which it is reasonable to infer that the author began to write after the king's return from the pilgrimage he had undertaken in A.H. 721 = A.D. 1321, that is, in, or shortly after A.H. 721, and that he completed it before the death of his patron Malik Giyâş-ud-Din in A.H. 729 = A.D. 1329.

We are not in a position to form a definite idea of the real extent of Sayfi's history of Herat. The present volume ending with A.H. 721 (A.D. 1321) comprises about 140 chapters, while in the preface we are told that the author divided the work into 400 chapters.

\* این تاریخ نامه را بر چهار صد ذکو ختم کردم

Again, in the concluding lines of this copy, the author distinctly says that he completed this first volume (daftâr) by the grace of God, and that he hopes to write the second volume within a very short time:—

تمام شد دفتر اول بعون ایزد دادگر بعد از تشبث باذیال الطاف الهی  
اصید وائق است بکرم عدیم ملک عادل عالم حاجی غازی غیاث الحق  
والدین خلد ملکه و قدره و اطلع من افق الجلال بدرا که من بندۀ کمعذربین را  
بنظر عذایت بیغایت ملکی منظور دارد تا باندک روزگاری دفتر ناسی را در  
هتابت آرم انشاء الله العزیز\*

It is worth noticing that at the beginning, where the author states what period he intends to cover in his history, a blank space has been left for the insertion of the year down to which the narrative was to be brought. The passage stands thus in the text:—

تاریخ شهر هرّة را از شهور سنه نهان عشر و ستماهه که خرابی وی و بقتل  
رسیدن سکانش درین سال بوده است در عمد بادشاہ چنگیز خان تا شهور  
نهان نوشتم و آنچه محقق و مصدق بود الخ \*

I am inclined to hold that when Sayfi commenced the work he had planned to divide it into four hundred chapters and to bring the history down to a later period than A.H. 721 (1321) with which the present volume closes. The space

seems to have been intentionally left blank by him. When he commenced the history he could not as a matter of fact positively say to what date he would be able to reach, and consequently left the blank, intending to fill it up after completing the work. It seems therefore quite probable that Sayfi died shortly after finishing this first volume, and that he did not live to fulfil his plan of adding a second. This theory receives considerable support from the fact that the author of the Raudât-ul-Jannât, who freely borrows from this work, while narrating the events of the year A.H. 721 = A.D. 1321 (with which the present work ends), distinctly gives us to understand that Sayfi's history of the Kurt kings does not extend beyond that date (A.H. 721 = A.D. 1321). He says further that although Sayfi promised a second volume he (the author of the Raudât) had not up to that time (A.H. 897 = A.D. 1492) succeeded in tracing its existence, and that in his opinion Sayfi did not live to fulfil his promise. The passage in the Raudât runs thus :—

ذکر ملوی کرت در تاریخی که صیفی هروی نوشته تا این محل بیش  
بیست و نهم احوال ملوک کوت را حیقی مذکور حواله بدفتر دویم کرده  
که مسطور خواهد گشت و درین ادام از دفتر دویم تاریخ آل کرت هیچ آس  
نشان نداد غالباً وعده کرده بوده ، بوقا نرسیده \*

Since the dawn of Islâm there has hardly been a great civil war, or dynastic revolution, or foreign invasion in Central Asia in which Herat has not played an important part and suffered accordingly. It enjoyed peace and prosperity during the first three centuries of the Muhammadan era when the Tâhirides of Khurâsân (A.H. 205-259 = A.D. 820-873), the Saffârides of Sijistân (A.H. 254-290 = A.D. 868-902), and the Sâmânides of Bukhârâ (A.H. 261-389 = A.D. 875-999) were in power; but during the succeeding rules of the Ghaznavide kings it was eclipsed by the neighbouring capital of Ghazni until in the time of Sultan Sanjar of Merv about A.H. 552 = A.D. 1157 the barbarious Turkoman tribe of Ghuzz swept over Afghanistan and devastated the city. The most deplorable ravages were wrought in the city during the time of Chingiz Khan when the Mongol hordes invaded Persia and left the country a wilderness after levelling all its buildings, palaces, etc., to the ground. In A.H. 618 = A.D. 1221 Chingiz Khan sent two successive expeditions against the city which resulted in a general slaughter of its inhabitants. Out of several lacs of inhabitants our author names sixteen persons who alone survived the massacre and who were subsequently joined by another party of twenty-four survivors. The city began slowly to recover under the Ghorid kings (A.H. 634-642 = A.D. 1236-1244) and rose to distinction during the time of the Kurt Maliks until it

was once more laid waste by Timûr in A.H. 783=A.D. 1381 and their dynasty extinguished in A.H. 791=A.D. 1389. It was under the Timuride princes early in the 9th century that Herat regained its flourishing condition. It was then the capital of Khurâsân and, for about half a century, was celebrated, "not merely for the splendour and dignity of its Court, the architectural beauty of its mosques, tombs, colleges, and palaces, but as being the resort of the greatest divines, philosophers, poets and historians of the age" (History of the Moghuls of Asia, by E. Denison Ross, p. 193, footnote). During the centuries which intervene between the Timuride princes and the rise of the Afghans, the city was devastated four times by the Turcoman and Uzbeks, and consequently it never in these days attained to any thing like its former importance.

The contents of this volume, as stated above, are divided into about 140 chapters. The first chapter is devoted to an account of the foundation of Herat, the second describes its pre-eminence and is based on those traditions of the Prophet which refer to this city. The history proper begins with the third chapter and ends with the one hundred and thirty-eighth, covering a period of rather more than a century (A.H. 618-721 = A.D. 1221-1321). Chapters III and IV give an account of Tûlî Khân's expedition against Merv led by the order of Chingiz Khân in the middle of Rabî 'I., A.H. 618=A.D. 1221.

Chapter V treats of Tûlî's expedition against Nîshâpûr and the general massacre of its people.

In Chapters VI and VII we read of the destruction of the fortresses called توى و گوسویه و کورنیان respectively.

In Chapters VIII and IX Sayfi gives a detailed account of the two most sanguinary expeditions against Herat, the first of which was led by Tûlî, while the second was sent under Ilchikdâi Nû'in نوین ایلچیکدای who reached Herat in Shawwâl, A.H. 618=A.D. 1221. He laid a heavy seige to the city which lasted for six months and seventeen days without any victory on either side, but succeeded at last after eight months in capturing it on Thursday, Jumâdâ I., A.H. 619=A.D. 1222.

The following quotations from Chapter IX will give an idea of the author's narrative style :—

منکنای شهدۀ را در بای حصار شهرو و ملک ابو بکر را در میان بازار  
بکشند خوش و جوش از شهر برخاست و خلق شهر هراة با سلاح تمام  
از در و بام نعره (شعر) ... بر آوردند از حشم و خدم ملک ابو بکر و منکنای  
هر کس را که یافتد بقتل رسانند و ملک مبارز الدین سبزواری را که  
از حصار فیروز کوه بمراة آمده بود بملکی نصب کردند و رئیسی ولایت را

بخواجہ فخرالدین عبد الرحمن غیزانی که مرد جلد و مبارز کار دیده بود  
 مفوض گردانیدند و همه یک عزم دل بر رزم نهاد و راوی چذمین گفت که  
 چون خود بقتل رسیدن ملک اوبیکو و منکتای بسعی بادشاہ چنگیز خان رساندند  
 در عصب رفت و از سرفناکی گفت که (شعر) ..... روز دیگر ایلچیکدای  
 نوین را با هشقاد هزار مرد چذکی از سی فرسنگی غزینه بسراة نامه زد کرد  
 و گفت خلق کشته باز زنده شده اند درین نوبت باید که مودم را سر از بدن  
 جدا کنید و ساکنان هواه را بکل بقتل رسانید ایلچیکدای بحکم بادشاہ  
 چنگیز خان در شوال سنّه قمان عشور و ستماهه برود خانه هواه فروع آمد  
 و فرمود که سباہ باید که درین یکماه کار کارزار و عدت (Sic) روزگار توپیب  
 دهند و از مواضعی که در حکم چنگیز خانیان بود صدد و ساز نبود طلبیدند  
 باندی روزگاری از حدود خراسان و نواحی جبال ترکستان و شیورغان  
 تا افغانستان قرب بخچاه هزار مرد از پیاده و سوار بسراة آمدند و در شهر  
 ملک صدارز الدین و خواجه فخر الدین و دیگر اعیان و اکابر مستعد حرب  
 شدند و باهم عهد و مبنای سقند که بهیچ سبب از اسباب کسی از ارباب  
 و اصحاب و تفی از شیخ و شاب خلاف نهایند و بر موجب اقتلوا المشریکین کافه  
 تا جان دارد با زمرة ملاعین و فوقة بی دین بکوشند و چون کوت او، دو رنگی  
 و بی سکنی ظاهر نکند ایلچیکدای نوین بعد از یکماه دروازها را بر اعرابی  
 سباہ بخش کرد و بر هر جانب شهر سی هزار مرد بخفرساد و حکم فرمود که  
 هر که در جنگ و آهنگ فتور و کاهلی و قصور و بد دلی پیدا گرداد  
 بزم تیغ جهان بروی چون شب دیبور گردانم و آنک در محاربت مبارزت  
 نماید و در معنی القدام قدر نکند ..... تشریف خاص ما مخصوص  
 گردد و بصفات پیشوائی موصوف شود ..... روز دیگر ایلچیکدای با چندان  
 سباہ کینه خواه از چهار طرف شهر جنگ در بیوست و مبارزان هواه قدم  
 نداد بغمودند و بر امید دری درجات و سعادات و بول مجرات و حسنات  
 و معنو خطیات و سیارات از دروازها با نیزه ها بیرون آمدند و جمله حمله کردند  
 و بیکبار با چندین هزار کافر ملعون در آویخت و از هر دو طرف نایره حرب  
 در زبانه زدن آمد و دریای ضرب در چوش و مواجهی جنائک خذجرها  
 بر خذجرها را یافت و نیزه از سینهها گذر کرد و بالها از کوبالها کوفته شد

و بزرگها از خون معقد کرهای بدبند شد و جوشانها در بدنشا بجوش آمد و خود از سر صرد برگشته بزم خم عمود آهدهیں چون نان کاوسی از هم فرو ریخت هر دو فربیق بدین طور که بذکر بیوست شش ماه و هفده روز باهم در محاربیت و مقارت بودند و همچنان یک بر دیگری مظفر و فیروز و منصور و به روز نمیشد در ماه هشتم در شهر سده تبع عشر و ستماهه ایلچیکدای حوبهای عظیم کرد چنانک در هر چند قرب پنج هزار تن از عسکر او بقتل رسید و خری بسیار آنچه که در خرلخ است بنهادند و دیوار داره را سوراخها کردند باره دیوار از باره بعقدر پنجاه گز جدا شد و بوآن خروکها آمد و چهارصد غول نامدار در زیر آن دیوار بماندند چنانک یک کس جان بیرون نتوانست برد \*

روز آدینه در ماه جمادی الاول از قضای ریانی و تقدیرو یزدانی ایلچیکدای نوئین لعین از جانب برج خاک بر سر که خلفش بغلطی برج خاکستر میخواند شیر هرا را بگرفت و بفرمود تا خلفش را از زن و مرد بقتل رسانند بحکم ایلچیکدای نوئین لعین لشکریان حوبهای خون از درون و بیرون روان کردند و خاق را از جوان و بیو و صغیر و کبیر بقتل رسانید و همچ سری را برتن و بدی با سرنگداشتن و نمامت بنها و سواهای شهر را فرو کوتفند و خذدق را بینجاشند و شرفات و ابراج و بارو را خواب کردند هفت روز چز بکشتن و سوختن و کندن و خون ریختن نکار دیگر قیام نمودند (نمودند read) ..... هزار و شصت صد هزار و کسری از خلق هرا شهید شدند \*

In Chapter X Sayfi draws a terrible picture of the ruinous condition to which the city was reduced by the disasters mentioned above. He names sixteen persons who survived the general slaughter by taking refuge in the caves of the mountains. These were subsequently joined by twenty-four more, thus making the number saved forty. He describes how this handful of survivors managed to subsist by plundering caravans and by other lawless means, while, people of even distant parts were reduced to eating the flesh of men, dogs, cats, etc.

چندین شفودم از راویان هرا که چون ایلچیکدای نوئین لعین خطه ناک هرا را که از مشایخ و احباب اخیار و علماء اسلام و کرمانی اقام و عقلاء

ایام جون بغداد آباد بود و جون کعبه معظم مکرم بر انداخت و زمینی را که  
خای عذیز آکین او با مشک تبی متابلی میکرد از خون جندهین هزار مسلمان  
باک دین آمشته کوئانید و نزعنگاهی را که ریاحین ساتین او بر گلشن روشن  
فودوس اعلی و کواکب توابع کنجد خضرا طعنه میزد جون خارستان و صحرای  
کبستان کرده و دارالملکی را که فیلان توانا و نهکان دریا و شیر و اژدها  
در کوه و هامون او کذر نتوانستی کرد بناه و چابکا کری و رویا نماخت \*

## (معزی)

جایی که بود آن دلسخان با دوسخان در بوسخان  
شد گوک و رویه را مکان شد جند و گرگس را وطن  
بر جای رطل و جام می کوران نهادستند بی  
بر جای بانک و جنگ نی آواز زاغست و زعن  
ایخت بر جای قمر سذکت بر جای که و  
زهروست بر جای شکر خارست بر جای سمن  
بعد از هشت روز لشکر بطرف کالیوین بود و از عذایم و اسیران هرآه انجه  
که لایق بادشاہ چنگیز خان بود با جندهین هزار دختران ماه عذر .....  
بفرستاد جون بقصبه اویه رسید دو هزار سوار باز کردانید و کفت که بشهر  
هرآه روید و از گریختکان و متواریان کسی را که باید بقتل رسانید آن سواران  
بهرآه آمدند و دو روز در شهر مقام کردند و قرب دو هزار آدمی دیگر را بقتل  
آوردند و روز سیم صراجعت نمودند راوی جندهین کوید که دران روزهاء  
قتل و نهب مولانا شرف الدین خطیب جغتان و فخر حداد و اصیل معدل  
و شهاب کریم و خواجه سور و رشید برجی و شمس دیاج و حمزه فوشنجی  
و مجید عصار و عماد صلاحی و محمود سابق و زین الدین خنبله و علمشا  
بریانی و امیران سوین و داؤد نجیب و حسام الدین نظیره این شانزده  
قزن در کله کوه کمری را که معمدیع و کدری صعب داشت مفو و مقر خود  
ساخته بودند ..... بعد ازان که در شهر هرآه از مسامانان آثار و از کافران

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دیار نهاند از کله کوه شرف الدین خطیب جفرزان و آن جماعت که ذکر  
ایشان بخیر بیوست • ( جمالی )

همه با ناله و زاری همه با پشم بر از نم  
 همه با خاطر غمگین همه با سینه بر غم  
 در شهر آمدند در هر قدمی صنعتی دیدند کشته  
 جانانه یافند موده - بعضی را برادران در خاک و خون  
 را اقرب بیجان و بیجان شده و طائفه را فوتدان بقتل  
 احبا بدست کفار اسیر کشته بدست روز جز بماله و زاری  
 ننمودند و هر زمان از سر درد و سر گفتند \*

يَا حَمْدُنِي مِنْ فَرَاقِ قَوْمٍ  
كَانُوا هُمُ الْكَيْفُ وَالْمَحْمَوْنُونَ  
وَالْمَزْنُ وَالْأَسْدُ وَالْمَرْوَاسِي  
وَالْأَمْمَنُ وَالْخَفْضُ وَالْمَكْوَنُ

بعد از بیست روز در بیرون شهر بر طرف شرقی در جوار درب خوش  
حمام شرف الزمان را مسکن خود ساختند و چون چهل تن شدند شهر  
در آمدند و در مسجد جامع در کعبه سلطان صفوی عیاث الحق والدین روح الله  
روحه ... ساکن شدند و سرتسلیم و رضا بر خط قضای ریاضی نهاد و شیخون  
و زاری و خون چکر روزگار می کرد چون ازین حالت دو ماه و نیم بگذشت ..  
... روز دیگر فخر آهذکه باده تن از عیاران بجانب قوهستان رفت و رسید  
برجی بجانب غور و اصیل معدل بطرف کالیوین و شرف الدین خطیب  
با بیست تن در مسجد جامع ساکن شد و هر روز کاه دانها را باک میکردند  
و از آن دانه حاصل میکرد و قوتی میساخت و بعضی از راویان جفین  
میگویند که در اول شرف الدین خطیب و اصحاب او به لحوم مردم و کلاب  
روزگار میکردند و از مولاناع مرحوم خواجه ناصر الملة والدین جشنی طیب  
الله رسمه جدین شنیدم که او کفت از حدود بلخ تا حد دامغان یکسال

بیوسته خلق کوشت آدمی و سک و کوره میخوردند جه جنکیز خانیان  
جمله انوارها را سوخته بودند \*

Sayfi then tells us that after these expeditions the city of Herat remained a mere heap of ruins for sixteen years (A.H. 618-634 = A.D. 1221-1236) during which no king or governor attempted to build it again, till in A.H. 634 = A.D. 1236 Sultan Uktai of the great Khans directed his attention to restoring it. So, the author says, he has given but a brief account of these sixteen years and has written a detailed history from the 34th year (i.e. A.H. 634 = A.D. 1236) down to his own time in a regular and systematic manner, recording the events of each year in chronological order :—

و جون شانزده سال شهر هرات خراب بود و ملکی و حاکمی بعمارت  
و امارت او نیامد از شهور سنه اربع و نلادین سال بر ترتیب نهادم \*

After the account of the reconstruction of Herat by Uktai in A.H. 634 = A.D. 1236 (Ch. XI) follows the history of its rulers and governors before the Kurt Maliks of Ghore from A.H. 634 to 642 = A.D. 1236—1244. The history of these nine years comprises Chapters XII—XX.

The remaining portion of the work, Chapters XXI-CXXXVIII, comprising a period of seventy years, A.H. 642-721 = A.D. 1241-1321, treats in detail of the reigns of the first four kings of the Kurt race of Herat, viz. Shams-ud-Din I, Rukn-ud-Din, Fakhr-ud-Din, and Giyâş-ud-Din and of the chiefs and nobles who governed the city during that period. The volume closes with an account of the expedition sent by Shams-ud-Din against Furâh in Rabi' I, A.H. 721 = A.D. 1321, the year in which his father, the King Giyâş-ud-Din, went on a pilgrimage to Mecca, leaving Shams-ud-Din in charge of the government. The history of Malik Giyâş-ud-Din, which is the main theme of the last portion of the book and which alone comprises foll. 187<sup>a</sup>-275<sup>b</sup>, is full and exhaustive. In narrating the events Sayfi enters into minute details and shows extraordinary precision. For instance, in mentioning the time when Baktût marched against Malik Giyâş-ud-Din, he says (fol. 243<sup>b</sup>) :—

سلطان و بکتوت با سباہ آراسنه بشکوه هوجه تمامتر مع جم الغفیر .....  
روز جمعه خامسی ربيع الاول سنه مذکور (A.H. 718) باسم تاخت از  
جوانب شهر هرات در آمدند \*

Again on fol. 247<sup>b</sup>

بکتوت روز دوشنبه پیست و دوم ربيع الاول سنه مذکور برود خانه  
هرات فرود آمدند و روز جمعه پیست و ششم ربيع الاول سنه مذکور شاهزاده  
پسون در صرعیار بشوران نزول کرد \*

Now it seems to me impossible to overestimate the value of this "history of Herat" for two reasons. Firstly, it supplies an authentic and copious record of an important period of history; for that period it is the prime, written, documentary evidence we possess, and but for this it would have passed into oblivion; secondly, the author had a most rigid regard for truth and has displayed an immense industry in collecting information from all genuine and trustworthy sources; these are for the most part oral traditions and contemporary witnesses. It may be confidently asserted that as a contemporary of the greater part of the events which he describes, he had every opportunity for getting the best information at first hand.

In the preface as well as several times in the course of his narrative, the author draws our attention particularly to the aforesaid facts. Thus he observes in one place:—

بعد ازان فرمان اعلیٰ لا زال عالیاً بیغاذ بیوست که خطه معموره  
 و بلده معهوده هرآ صانها الله عن العاهات و الافات که از امهات بلاد  
 خراسانست بلک کعبه نازی و بغداد مسلمانی ..... از عصر بادشاه  
 چنگیز خان تاریخ ناصه ندارد و جون در جفوب تواریخ واقعات و حوادث  
 بلدان و امصار خراسان شهرو هراة ..... اکثر الحادیاث و الواقعات است  
 بواسطه آنکه شهرا بعد شهر و سنه بعد سنه عساکر اقالیم در نواحی و اطراف  
 آن جمع میشوند و صافان سخن آرای و میاحان جهان پدمای جون از کلی  
 احوال که در وی بظهور می پیوندد خبر ندارند و بر تواریخ آن عالم نیستند  
 در مجالس سلاطین و ملوی آفاق و مخالف مشاهیر و جماهیر خراسان  
 و عراق و میان عامه رعایا و کافه برایا بدروع خود را فروغ میدهند .....  
 بر وجه راستی اسامی و سیر تواریخ ملوی و امرا و صوابح و حکام که از  
 عهد بادشاه چنگیز خان تا امروز در خطه هرآ حمیت عن الافات بوده اند  
 و بمضافات او رسیده در کتابت آور \*

The above statement is confirmed thus in another place:—

بعد ازین نعون خالق لم يزل و فضل صانع بي بدل \* (سذائي)  
 آن سمیع واهب قهار کز لطفش شود  
 ابر نیمان در فشان و باد بستان مشکجبار  
 آن قدیم قادر قاهر که هست از راه قدر  
 حکم او جاوید و ملکش بر دوام و برقرار

در تواریخ احوال ملوی اسلام عور طاب نراهم شروع کدم و بر وجه  
صدق آنچه حادث شده باشد بتویسم چه حکم عالی ملک اعظم ... غیاث  
الحق والدین ..... بر آنچمه بتفاوت بیوست که قصص و حکایتی که درین  
تاریخ نامه بدت خواهد شد باید که راست بود و از کدب و مقدوریاتی که در  
سایر کتب نوشته اند معرا و مجزا باشد تا ارتاب دانش و اصحاب بینش  
بخواندن و نوشتن این حکایات مایل شوند مبنی بین امر واجب الامتناع  
بعد اضعف در تالیف این تاریخ جندانک امکان داشت کوشید و هوجه نوشت  
بر پیران و متقدمان شهر هرآ و طایفه که بر قلم و قدم ایشان اعتماد کلی  
بود عرض کرد همه بازغاق گفتند که آنچه در کتابت آورده راست و ما  
جذون دیده ایم و جذین دانسته و از ابا و اجداد خود نیز شنیده حق تعالی  
بکرم عظیم و لطف بی نهایت خود همه را از آنچه نباید و نشاید خاصه از  
کدب نگاه داراد محمد و آله الاخیار و اصحابه البار \*

His love of truth and his correctness of information are apparent on every page, and he is scrupulously honest in quoting the sources from which he derives his statements. It is also remarkable that the author does not blindly follow his predecessors, but makes a critical use of them. Indeed he exposes and refutes the opinions of some of the best authorities whose credit and high reputation remain unquestioned even to the present day. For instance, in narrating the events of so early a period as A.H. 618=A.D. 1221 with which he opens the history, he more than once contradicts the statements of the celebrated *Minhâj-i-Sirâj*, the author of the well-known historical work *Tabqât-i-Nâsiri* (c. A.H. 658=A.D. 1259) whom as an almost contemporary chronicler of the said events, we might have looked upon as an indisputable authority:—

در تاریخ سراج منهاج جذین مذکور و مسطو است که بر هر طرف  
شهر ششصد هزار آدمی را بقتل رساندند و قرب صد هزار دختر چهارده ساله  
نایبری گرفت و آن روز تا نماز خفتن کشش کرد بعد از نماز خفتن شاهزاده  
تولی خان فرمان فرمود که بیش کسی را بقتل نرسانند از خلق هرآ هنوز  
قرب دویست هزار باقی مانده بودند. اما اصح آنست که از پیران شهر هرآ  
جردن مولاناء مرحوم شیخ الاسلام خواجه ذا صر الدین جشنی و امیر کبیر

محمد بن خلیل ابن حسام الدین الب حاجب و خواجہ ابویکر خشیده شفودم  
 که ایشان کففند که ما از بدران خویش که در وقت شاهزاده تولی خان در  
 هراة بوده اند چنین سماح داریم که شاهزاده تولی خان در مقابل دروازه فیروزآباد  
 صف کشیده بود بعد از هفت روز که از طوفان مسد بی حد بعقل بیوست  
 شاهزاده تولی خان با سور دویست بیش راند و جون طلب خندق رسید  
 بایستاد و خود از سو بر کرفت و کفت ای هرویان بدانیید که مغم در شرف صدف  
 دریاء کهرو بخشی جنکیز خانی و نمره دوده باع اقبال جهان بانی .....  
 اگر صیخواهید که همه بجان امان یابید و خرسن حیات اوقات شما از جمرات  
 آفات کین کش ما نسوزد و نهاد و بیگان صبحواوات و جمال این بلاد از قلع  
 و استیصال محفوظ ماند دست از محاربت باز دارید و بای از مبارزت بس  
 کشید و روی بسوی طاعت داری و انقیاد آرید و بعض عف انججه هر سال از  
 مقوجهات این ولایت بعمال سلطان جلال الدین صیرسانده ابد بتواب ما  
 رسانید تا شما را از تربیت شاهنشاهی و مکومت بادشاهی ما بو خورد اری  
 صوفور حامل آرد و بو آنجه کفت سوکنهای ساخت باد کرد جون خلق  
 شهر هراة از لفظ شاهزاده تولی خان آن بیمان بشنودند همه مارل و راغب صلح  
 کشند اول امیر عز الدین مقدم هروی که بحکم سلطان جلال الدین والی  
 جامه باقان بود با صد جامه باف هر یک بانه تا جامه قدمتی بیش شاهزاده  
 تولی خان رفت و بعد از وی تمامت اعیان و سروزان هراة از شهر بیرون  
 رفتند شاهزاده دوازده هزار تن را که از متعلقان سلطان جلال الدین بود  
 بقتل رساند و باقی خلق را بهیچ زحمتی مقالم نکردند و ملک ابویکر مرحقی  
 را در هراة نصب کردند و از مقریان درگاه خود مغولی مذکوی نام را  
 بشهدکی نامزد فرمود و بعد از هشت روز مظفر و منصور با غایمت بیقهاس  
 مراجعت نمود \*

Again, in recounting the events which led to the second  
 devastation of Herat, he refutes the same historian and others,  
 basing his own account on a more reliable authority:—

اکدون آمدیم بحکایت آنکه بجهه واسطه شهر هراة بار دوم خراب  
 کودند و خلق او را بقتل رساند درین معنی نقاۃ هراة را خلاف است بعضی  
 چنین میکوئند که جون صدم شهرو هراة را قوت و مکفت و ذخیره بی اندازه  
 حاصل شد باتفاق یکدیگر روزی فرصتی نکاه داشتند و ملک ابویکر و منکوی

را در مسجد جامع بقتل رساندند و در قاریخ سراج صنایع آورده است که سبب خرابی شهر هراة کوت دوم آن بود که چون سلطان جلال الدین لشکر پادشاه چنگیز خان را در حدود پروان میان باشوان و غزیان مذهب کردند چون آوازه این فتح بخران رسید در هر شهر که از دست چنگیز خالیان ملکی و شاهزاده و عاملی بود همه را بقتل رسانیدند بدان امید که پیش پادشاه چنگیز خان با سلطان جلال الدین مقابله نتواند شد - اما اصح آنست که از خواجه ابویکر خبده شفیدم که او گفت کم الخ \*

He is constantly at pains to show us that his assertions are vouched for by the oral evidence of contemporaries:—

جنین میکوید تندۀ ضعیف ..... که در تواریخ منقدمان مسطور و مذکور دیدم و از بیران سخنداں معروف و مشهور شفیدم \*

In another place he observes thus:—

جنین شدوم از راویان ستدۀ صفات و از بیران شهر معمورۀ هراة که چون شاهزاده قولی خان با سباء کران بمرغزار بشوران رسید \*

And where evidence is conflicting, no matter how insignificant the fact, he takes the precaution of enumerating all the sources of his information. For instance, in his account of the murder of Malik 'Alî bin Mas'ûd of Sijistân in A.H. 656 = A.D. 1258 he writes thus:—

جون ملک علی مسعود از در در آمد و بر ملک شمس الدین سلام کرد و خواست که پیش رو و دست ملک بپرسد که در حال سرش را بزخم تبع پیداری از بدن بینداخت از ابویکر خبده جنین شفودم که او گفت که ملک شمس الدین بیک زخم شمشیر سر ملک علی مسعود را از قذه بینداخت و امیر محمود بن امیر خلیل بن حام الدین الب حاجب جنین گفت که مبارک علی یزدوانی و نقیب علی و محمد بلنک غوری ملک علی مسعود را بکشند و بابا کرد گفت که ملک تاج الدین کرد کرببان او بکرفت و اختیار الدین سالار مرش بخنجو از بدن جدا کرد \*

The style is flowing and elegant, graceful but free from superfluous ornament, and he can narrate facts in a plain, straightforward manner which induces a confidence in the truth of his statement and the accuracy of his knowledge.

He introduces with extreme felicity quotations from not

less than twenty-five poets, some famous, some hardly known. Here are some of their names: Firdausi, Anwari, Sa'di, Rab'i Fushanji, Khâqâni, Sanâ'i, Zahîr, Safîr Ażhar, Fayyâd Harawî, Shâh Haydari, Qâbûs, As'ad Kirmâni, Sa'idî, Rûhâni, Labibi, Rûhi, Shihâb Bağdâdi, etc.

Sayfi himself was a poet of no mean order. We have already seen that he wrote a Sâm Nâmah of 20,000 lines and composed eighty Qasîdahs and one hundred and fifty Qit'ahs in praise of Malik Fakhr-ud-Dîn Kurt. It will not be out of place to quote here as specimens some of his poetical compositions found in this text.

In praise of the wine (fol. 166a) :—

امروز روز باده و جامست ساقیا  
 امروز روز عشوت و کام است ساقیا  
 در ده صدام جام شراب مدب لعل  
 زیواکه وقت جام مدا مست ساقیا  
 بیش آن شراب که در تیوکی شب  
 تابنده همچو ماه تمامست ساقیا  
 آن می که بیش دردی دری شعاع او  
 صبح جهان فرو جو شامست ساقیا  
 آن می که فرد نور صفائی لقای او  
 سیمای اعل همچو ظلامست ساقیا  
 ان می که رخش عکس فروز جمال او  
 براق همچو برق و حسامست ساقیا  
 ان می که طعم ورنگ و ضیا و نسیم او  
 صانند خمر دار سالمست ساقیا  
 ان می که در نظر زصفا و نفا و لطف  
 صاء الحیوة و آب غمامست ساقیا  
 ان می که بوی ولدت و دیدار و فعل او  
 روح خواص و روح عوامست ساقیا  
 ان می که بی وجود طرب بخش روشنست  
 عیش حلال عمر حرامست ساقیا

The following poem of Sayfi is quoted in connection with Giyas-ud-Din's brother Malik 'Alâ-ud-Dîn's death in A.H. 713 = A.D. 1313 :—

کو شیروی و کو رویی کو فاصلی کو ایلوی  
 کو بادشاهی کوشی کو سروری کو باستان  
 کو انجمنی کو انجمنی کو فیلی و کو قدران  
 کو صفری کو صفت شکن کو بهلوی کو بهلوان  
 کو آتشی کو سوکشی کو ناخوشی و کو خوشی  
 کو مهروی و کو مردمه و شی کو دلبری کو دلستان  
 از موی سر کودان شوی بیجان و بس بیجان شوی  
 با خاک ره رکسان شوی کم کرددت نام و نشان

In praise of God, fol. 175b :—

ای تاہر مقادر و ای قادر قدیم  
 و ای صانع ممجد و ای رازق و حکیم  
 فماری و بصیری و رزاقی و سمیع  
 صداری و صبوری و رحمانی و رحیم  
 عفاری و لطیفی و فناحی و بدیع  
 تسوابی و جلیلی و وہانی و کرم  
 حبی و ذوالجلای و منانی و ملک  
 قیدومی و عزوفی و علامی و ملیم  
 رئی و کردکاری و عدلی و رافعی  
 تری و بی نیازی و درانی و عظیم  
 نضل تویی نهایت و لطف تویی حباب  
 صبح تویی خلالت و ملک تویی ندیم  
 اکرام تو همیشه و افضل تو مدام  
 احسان تو بیابی و انعام تو عمیدم

These passages so rich in poetical subtleties and beauties are ample testimony to a rare genius. Many Arabic verses and sayings quoted from the best authors are another proof of his versatility.

Sayfi mentions (fol. 219a) that the only person from whom

he received any assistance in writing his history was Khwâjah Shihâb-ud-Dîn, the great scholar and Munshî of the 'Ulamâ of Giyâş-ud-Dîn's court, and that without his ungrudging help he could never have completed so lengthy a work, or collected so much authentic information within the short space of two and a half years :—

اگر تربیت و تفہم و انعم قرارداد او نبودی این تاریخ که صد و بیست  
 تا کاعده است سالها با نجام نبیوستی و بی کرم و تقویت او جانین کتاب معتبر  
 در دو سال و نیم پای خود نرسیدی ..... غیر صدر معظم خواجہ شهاب الدوّلۃ  
 و الدین در مدت بودا ختن این کتاب از ارباب و اصحاب کسی در باب بندۀ  
 بعده حقی ذات نکردند \*

Besides the help received from Minhâj, Sayfî says that he drew upon certain works, viz. *Târîkh-i-Jahân Kushâ-i-Juwayni* (c. A.H. 650 = A.D. 1252) mentioned in connection with his account of the destruction of *Nishâpûr* by *Tûlî Khân*, fol. 20b; *Târîkh-i-Gâzân* of *Rashîd-ud-Daulah*<sup>1</sup> (c. A.H. 710 = A.D. 1310), quoted in the account of the reconstruction of Herat on fol. 36b. Sayfî also refers to two other works, viz. تاریخ علائی and تاریخ خراسان, both in connection with the devastation of Merv by *Tûlî Khân*.

In the earlier part of the work Sayfî refers to two histories of Herat. The first by *Siqat-ud-Dîn 'Abd-ur-Rahmân Fâmî*, a panegyrist of 'Izz-ud-Dîn 'Umar, the ancestor of the Kurts, who governed Herat under Sultân Giyâş-ud-Dîn Muhammad bin Sâm (c. A.H. 550-590 = A.D. 1155-1193). The second is the *Kurt Nâmah* of *Rabi'i Fûshanji*, who wrote in the style of the Shâh Nâmah about A.H. 700 = A.D. 1300, and dedicated his book to *Malik Fakhr-ud-Dîn* of the Kurt race. But it is hard to see how either can have been of any material service to our author. Fâmî's work was written early in about A.H. 600 = A.D. 1203, while that of Fûshanji is only a poetical account.

A third history of Herat and of later date, entitled *Raudât-ul-Jannât fi Auşâf-i-Harât* روضات الجنات ذی اوصاف هرآت was written by *Mu'in Zamchî* معین زمشی in A.H. 897 = A.D. 1492. Manuscript copies of this work are fairly common in the libraries of Europe and India. The Asiatic Society of Bengal alone possesses two.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Rieu, in his Catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the Brit. Mus., vol. I, p. 74, Hâjî Khalifah, vol. II, p. 509, and several others call this author *Rashîd-ud-Dîn*, but here his name is given as *Rashîd-ud-Daulah* in conformity with the names of his father and grandfather, who were respectively called 'Imâd-ud-Daulah and Muwaffiq-ud-Daulah.

This Raudât of Mu'in enjoys a wide popularity as a valuable history of Herat, and Barbier de Meynard has given an account of it, with copious extracts done into French, in the *Journal Asiatique*, 5e série, vol. XVI, pp. 461-520. It may however be well to point out here that as an *original* source for the history of the years A.H. 618-721 = A.D. 1221-1321, Mu'in's work is of no value whatever, for he was obliged to depend almost exclusively upon Sayfi. That Sayfi's work was the only available source of Mu'in's history for the aforesaid period seems sufficiently clear from this fact :—

Sayfi's history closes with the year A.H. 721 = A.D. 1321, in which Malik Giyâş-ud-Dîn went on a pilgrimage. In Mu'in's history the next eight years suffer a total eclipse.

He does not even tell us when this king returned to Herat, although according to the *Mujmal-i-Fasihî*, he did so in the same year, but suddenly jumps to A.H. 729 = A.D. 1328 and the death of the said Giyâş-ud-Dîn and other events connected with the king's successors and descendants. The substance of Sayfi's history for the period A.H. 618-721 = A.D. 1221-1321 has simply been bodily transferred to Mu'in's Raudât. In borrowing Mu'in has abridged some portions and copied others verbatim. In the former case he is apt to be extremely brief, thus omitting a good many important facts of which, but for Sayfi, all memory would have perished. For example, the history of the first four kings of the Kurt race, which is the largest section of Sayfi's work, it fills 225 large folios, each containing 25 lines to the page. In the Asiatic Society's copy of the Raudât it fills but 57 folios, each with 17 lines to a page. The writing of both is of the same size. Again and again, Mu'in copies passages and even entire pages verbatim from Sayfi with hardly a new word. For instance, the passage relating to the murder of Manktâi and Abû Bakr, and the destruction of the city of Herat for the second time, which I have quoted from Sayfi earlier in this report (p. 6.), runs thus in Mu'in's Raudât :

منکتای را در بای حصار و ملک ابیکر را در صیان بازار بکشند  
و خوش و عوغا از شهر برخاست و از حشم و اتجاه ملک ابیکر و منکتای  
هرکس را که یافتنند بتبع پدریغ کذرانیدند و ملک صبارز الدین سبزواری  
را که از حصار فیروز کوه بمرا آمد و بعلکی تعین کردند و رئیسی مملکت  
بخواجه فخر الدین عبد الرحمن غیوانی که دلاور و کار دیده بود دادند و همه  
یک عزم دل بر حرب و رزم نهادند رس جون گیفیت ابن احوال بسمع جنکیز  
خان رسید در عصب شد و روز دیگر ایلچیکدای توئین را با هشقاد هزار صوره  
جنکی از نواحی غرقین نامزد کرد و کفت مردم کشته؛ نده کشته اند درین

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نویت باید که از مسکدان هواه کس را زنده نگذارند ایالجیکدای در شوال سنه  
نماین عشیر و ستمایه بپروردخانه هواه نزول کوده فرمود که سجاه باید که درین  
یکمراه ساز و ادوات معهاره ترتیب دهد و از مواضعی که در حکم چهارم خان  
بود مدد و آلات حرب طلبید باندی زمانی از حدود خراسان و جبال و شیورغان  
و افغانستان نزدیک پنجاه هزار مود از بیاده و سوار به راه آمدند و در شهر ملک  
صبارز الدین و خواجه فخر الدین عبد الرحمن و دیکو اکابر و اعیان هواه  
استعداد حرب ساخته باهم عهد و میثاق در میدان آورده که مخالفت نکند.

Till the discovery of this work the Raudât-ul-Jannât of Mu'în ranked very high both in Europe and Asia, but now—so far at least as the history of the years A.H. 618-721 = A.D. 1221-1321 is concerned—it must take its place as a mere abridgment of Sayfi and can have no claim to be considered an original authority.

I trust I have been able to convey some idea of the immense value and deep interest attaching to this rare manuscript, which has remained too long forgotten. Its publication would, I am sure, be welcomed by every Persian scholar and by every student of Asiatic history.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> I am much indebted to Mr. Scholfield who read through this paper and offered many helpful suggestions.



## 14. Some more Quatrains of Abú Sa'íd bin Abí'l Khair.

*Edited with a Translation and Notes by  
H. D. GRAVES LAW, I.C.S.*

### §1. On the Sources of the Text.

In two comparatively recent issues<sup>1</sup> of this journal Maulví 'Abd-ul Wali published 400<sup>2</sup> quatrains of the famous mystic and poet Abú Sa'íd bin Abu'l Khair of Khorásán. These formed the first published collection of the Rubá'iyát of the Saint which could claim to be anything like complete or really authentic, and were an important addition to our knowledge of Súfi Literature. These quatrains were copied from two MSS., one in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, the other in the British Museum. The only other printed collection of Abú Sa'íd's Rubá'iyát is that of Dr. Hermann Ethé, who in 1875 and 1878 published in a philological and literary journal in Munich 92 quatrains which he had found in various anthologies and memoirs, such as the *Haft Iqlím*, the *Nafáhát-ul-Úns*, the *Khulásat-ul Aṣkár* and others.<sup>3</sup>

The chief difficulty which confronts the editor of 'Umar Khayyám—the multiplicity and extreme variety of the texts at his disposal<sup>4</sup>—does not exist in the case of Abú Sa'íd. The materials for our knowledge of what the older poet wrote, far from embarrassing us by their richness, are meagre and scanty. But that fact makes matters no easier. For we have no really old and genuine collection of Abú Sa'íd's writings to rely on, the oldest MS. having been written in the XVII century A.D., 600 years after the poét's death; and the more recent the MS., the greater the suspicion that attaches to it as an authentic collection of a poet's works. Not entirely, I venture to think, because the bulk of his utterances are forgotten, or their authorship lost sight of in the years that follow. On the contrary, when there is no old and authentic *Diwán*, the number of verses attributed by posterity to a great poet, instead of diminishing, seems to grow with the centuries as steadily as his fame. The earliest MS. of 'Umar Khayyám, for example, dating from the end of the XV century A.D., contains but 158 quatrains; the most recent has 801.

But a large proportion of the verses thus added by later ages are, we may be sure, the work of other hands. It is quite

<sup>1</sup> Vol. V, No. 11 (December 1909) and Vol. VIII, No. 10 (Nov. 1911).

<sup>2</sup> Actually 401; but one quatrain had been inadvertently repeated.

<sup>3</sup> Of these 92 quatrains, 46 are also in Abd-ul Wali's collection.

<sup>4</sup> See Introduction to "The Quatrains of Omar Khayyám" edited by E. H. Whinfield, page xiv.

possible that 'Umar Khayyám or Abú Sa'íd composed a far greater number of verses than will ever be known. But it is difficult to imagine how their authorship, once it has been forgotten, can be re-discovered with any hope of certainty. We cannot say for certain that a really old text of Abú Sa'íd's would give us much fewer than the 400 quatrains we now have. But it is at least very probable; and the fact remains that a considerable number of the rubá'iyát contained in these two MSS. of Abú Sa'íd have, as we know, been attributed to other poets.<sup>1</sup> And as there is practically no internal evidence to guide us, it is quite impossible to say of many of the verses, with any hope of being accurate, who their author really was. All that can be presumed indeed as a general rule (though it does not take us very far), is that where one and the same quatrain is ascribed both to Abú Sa'íd and to some minor poet, it is the work of the latter. For the editors of Oriental anthologies had no very strict regard for historical accuracy, and if they chanced to come across an apt quatrain of whose authorship they were ignorant, they would not hesitate to give it an honourable place among the work of some revered and famous master. But no one would have any object in ascribing a verse to a comparatively unknown poet, unless he felt sure of its origin.

If, then, we must guard ourselves against too readily accepting as genuine an authoritative collection like that of 'Abd-ul Wali, what is to be said about the quatrains now published? Alas, I have no startling discovery of an old and genuine MS. to proclaim. Indeed, I must confess that it is with considerable diffidence that I have thus publicly announced them as the quatrains of Abú Sa'íd.

Their source is two-fold :—

- (1) A small volume in the State Library at Hyderabad (Deccan), which was lithographed at Bombay so recently as 1297 A.H. by Mirzá Muhammad Shirázi, and which contains along with some rubá'iyát of 'Umar Khayyám, Ansári, and Bábá Táhir, " 24 quatrains of Prince Abú Sa'íd bin Abu'l Khair, which have been proved efficacious for certain purposes."
- (2) A MS. copy containing 161 quatrains of Abú Sa'íd which I found a year or two ago among the débris of an Oriental book-shop in Hyderabad City. This MS., which bears no date but is apparently quite recent, is the work of one Sayyid Qádirí Jiláni, who united to his evident interest in the poet a

<sup>1</sup> Abd-ul Wali himself quotes about ten quatrains that are ascribed to other poets than Abú Sa'íd.

The author of the *Riáz-ul-Arifín*, Rizá Quli Khán Hidáyat, gives no fewer than thirty.

somewhat slovenly manner of transcribing him. What and where the MS. was from which he copied, he does not tell us ; and we shall never know.

These two texts then, between them, give us as many as 183 quatrains of Abú Sa'íd (for two are common to both); and as the lithographed volume is probably extremely rare, and the MS. unique; and as they are both, practically speaking, inaccessible to orientalists, I think that the publication in the J.A.S.B. of such of them as have not already appeared in 'Abd-ul Wali's collection, may be not without interest.

I have omitted therefore 83 quatrains<sup>1</sup> which are among the 400 rubá'iyát previously printed in this journal; as well as two which are foreign to all that we know of Abú Sa'íd and his work, and which have no literary value. Of the 98<sup>2</sup> quatrains which are now printed not all are "new" by any means. As many as 44 I have found attributed either to Abú Sa'íd or to other writers in various memoirs, and elsewhere. But the remaining 54 I have not been able to trace to their source.<sup>3</sup> It is certain that they are all to be found somewhere, scattered among *tadhkirás*, or in the *Diwáns* of quatrain writers, such as Kháqání, Sarmad, or Faríd-ud-Dín 'Attár with his reputed 10,000 rubá'iyát; and were an indefatigable and systematic search to be made in all their possible hiding places, in all the oriental libraries, each one of the 54 would doubtless, in time, be hunted down.

Whether we should be much wiser or happier for the labour, I am doubtful. It is not at all likely that we should be any more certain than we are now of the authorship of the quatrains. But after all does that matter very much? As a poet has said, if the words are worthy why should we ask the author's name? We do not know so much of Abú Sa'íd's life, that we could feel great regret at learning that some quatrains we had imagined to be his are the work of another poet. Nor would the quatrains themselves lose interest or value thereby. I think it may be said that they nearly all share in common a religious and emotional atmosphere, a certain poetic quality which are distinctive. If they are not, in fact, the work of Abú Sa'íd, they might have been.

The truth is that at this distant date, the name of Abú Sa'íd belongs not only to the individual but to a phase of thought and experience, sombre, austere, and devout, which gives its character to a certain period of Persian literature;

<sup>1</sup> 9 from the smaller collection and 74 from the MS.

<sup>2</sup> These 98 are made up as follows :—

84 from the Hyderabad MS.

12 from the lithographed volume.

2 which are common to both.

<sup>3</sup> 37 of the 44 are attributed to Abú Sa'íd; and 7 to other writers. The authority for each quatrain is indicated in the notes to the text.

and these quatrains are as much born of the spirit of that age, as the creation of any individual mind. So I think that no great harm will be done if they are allowed to remain, till that search is carried out, as the work of Abú Sa'íd, enjoying whatever measure of authority may be due to the names of these two zealous gentlemen of Shíráz and Jilán.

I am fully conscious that the two collections which we owe to their efforts, are of doubtful value<sup>1</sup>; that in particular the MS. copy of Qádirí, from which the bulk of the present collection is taken, has but a slender claim to be regarded as genuine. But although the unknown original of this copy may have been a recent and valueless document, there is a possibility that it may have been an old and authentic MS.; and this much, at least, may be said in their favour, that a goodly proportion of the quatrains found in each of these two texts are supported by the authority of the only two MSS. of which we know, as well as by several reliable *tadhkirás*. Whether that fact justifies my presenting the remainder as new quatrains of Abú Sa'íd, I must leave it to others to decide. It will be allowed, I think, that they are not unworthy of the honour of being numbered among the works of the Shaikh.

### § 2. *On the Life and Writings of Abú Sa'íd.*

Abú Sa'íd's place in Persian literature and in the history of Súfiism—the theosophy of Islám—can only be touched upon lightly here. He was, we know, the first great poet to use the quatrain; and he was among the first to express his religion and philosophy in that symbolical language which is so characteristic of the Persian mystics. But he is, as Daremsteter says, "more poet than philosopher." He is silent upon most of the problems which vexed the great sages, such as the mystery of pain and evil, the nature of the soul, and the much-disputed question of free will and determinism. Nevertheless in some of the essentials of the classic Súfiism of Jalál-ud-dín Rúmí or Jámí, in his view of the universe—which he regarded as a mass of phenomena, illusory, transitory as the waves of the sea, and like them ever being renewed—in his conception of a religion of love, of the true relationship between lover and Beloved, and of the Súfi's path to "Union," he anticipates to a remarkable extent the language and ideas of those masters.<sup>2</sup>

The facts of his life may be briefly told. He was born in

<sup>1</sup> A large number of the quatrains collected and published by Dr. Ethé have as a matter of fact no better credentials; as many as 65 out of the 92 being extracted from *anonymous* anthologies and memoirs.

<sup>2</sup> An attempt has been made in the notes to illustrate, however inadequately, some of these parallels. But it must be added that the quatrains in this collection do not by any means contain the best of Abú Sa'íd either as poet or philosopher; of his philosophy, indeed, it gives but a small part.

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A.D. 967 in Maihana, a little village of Khorásán in the north-east corner of Persia; and he died there in 1049. Practically the whole of his life he spent in Khorásán, now living with his parents in his native village, now studying at Merv, or preaching at Nishápúr, with perhaps an occasional visit to distant Bokhárá<sup>1</sup>; oblivious of, or at any rate untouched by, the violent events which were happening in those troublous times. The Turkish tribes which Mahmúd of Ghazní (998-1030) had allowed to enter Khorásán, had overrun the pasture lands of that province which became the constant scene of raids, punitive expeditions, and rebellions during the reigns of Mahmúd and his successor Mas'íd. These culminated at length in the definite conquest of Khorásán by the Seljúk Turkománs in A.D. 1037.

But of all this we hear little from his biographers, and nothing in his own poems.<sup>2</sup> He was busy with other things. He wandered in exile, he preached, and he debated with other dervishes, a fantastic crowd who pass to and fro across the stage with a strange and sombre dignity. He was reviled, he was revered; and on the whole enjoyed considerably more than the usual amount of honour that a prophet is supposed to acquire in his own land.

This is a bald enough picture; but if we seek to fill in the details, we must do so with a certain amount of caution. Abú Sa'íd has his biographers in plenty.<sup>3</sup> But the records of his life which they give us, though extremely diverting and full of interest, consist for the most part of isolated anecdotes and sayings which are placed in no definite sequence, and which moreover leave a great deal to the imagination. A picture made up of these fragments would be something very like the patched garment the Shaikh himself must have worn, a thing of strange colours, with many gaps.

But authentic or not, these stories give us a clear enough picture of the man. Leaving aside the prodigies of his infancy —those early signs of greatness which are the usual tribute of

<sup>1</sup> The home of Avicenna the great philosopher who was born there in 987 A.D. (when Abú Sa'íd was 20 years old), and lived there at any rate for the first part of his life. But he and Abú Sa'íd first met in Nishápúr, not in Bokhárá.

<sup>2</sup> A somewhat unconvincing story is related by one of his biographers of how Abú Sa'íd once came across a party of Turkoman robbers in the desert, fresh from a successful raid: and of how, having converted them by a little opportune clairvoyance, he took them with him to sit at his feet in the Súfi monastery at Nishápúr!

<sup>3</sup> The most valuable and the oldest of the biographies of the poet are the *Asrār ut Tauhid fi Maqámát-i-Shaikh Abú Sa'íd* written by a descendant in the second half of the 12th century A.D., and the *Hálat á Sukhún-i-Shaikh Abú Sa'íd* composed, as E. G. Browne conjectured, somewhat earlier. The latter is very much shorter. They have both been edited by Professor Valentine Zhukovski. For the rest there are notices of him in many memoirs and anthologies, such as the *Safinat-ul-Auliya*, the *Tadzhkirat-ul-Auliya*, and others.

posterity—we know that from an early age he enjoyed a wide reputation for learning and piety. It is beyond doubt that he spent many years in solitary exile in the desert, thinking out the problems of life; that he underwent countless austerities; that he fasted; that he despised riches; that he took on himself vows of silence. We read of his occasionally taking part in those crazy orgies of dance and song whereby the dervish sought to induce a condition of religious excitement or "ecstasy." Whatever we may think of such methods of obtaining "freedom from self" and "nearness to God," or of the foolish forms of self-mortification he employed, the objects of these practices were perfectly clear to his mind. In one of his quatrains he likens the dervish swaying to and fro in the dance to a nurse rocking a child in its cradle: thus alone could he hope to "still the babe of his restless spirit," or (by another metaphor) "quench the fires of his heart."<sup>1</sup> Bodily suffering released the soul for contemplation, and lifted the veil which hung between man and his Creator. "Revelation" he said "is the handmaid of Austerity."

By virtue of this self-imposed discipline he gained, it is said, an unusual power of working miracles, as the following story will testify. A merchant was once travelling from Nishápúr with a caravan bound for Bokhárá. On the way, between Nishápúr and Merv, he fell asleep and lost the caravan; and after wandering in the sandy desert for some days he came at length, hungry, thirsty, exhausted, to a pool of water where he beheld a man performing ablutions, and praying, "tall of stature, of fair complexion, with candid eyes, and with a beard reaching to his waist. He had a stick and a vessel in his hand, and a razor and tooth-brush; he bore a prayer carpet on his back, and was wearing a Súfi's patched cloak, and on his feet rope-shoes." This of course is our Shaikh, who on learning the man's trouble, took him by the hand, and beckoning to a lion which had miraculously appeared, whispered a few words in the animal's ear, and bade the merchant mount the beast, keep his eyes shut, and ride till the beast stopped. One hour later the merchant opens his eyes to find himself at Bokhárá (about 150 miles distant) in the company of his delighted fellow-travellers who had just arrived. But this is not all; for some time later he learns that the great Shaikh Abú Sa'íd is in the city; he goes to hear this celebrated preacher; and discovers to his amazement that the Shaikh is none other than his benefactor of the desert, who had been in

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<sup>1</sup> But in one of the quatrains which follow (22) he distinctly deprecates such spiritual "intoxication." He would at any rate have viewed with horror the excesses to which the state of "ecstasy" sometimes leads; and on the whole it seems certain that he strongly favoured "sobriety" as a line of conduct for the dervish.

Bokhárá all the time! The result, of course, is another convert to Súfiism.<sup>1</sup>

The story of this adventure was, by the express wish of Abú Sa'íd, not given to the world until after his death. Though the sceptic sees in this fact a convenient method of accounting for the posthumous origin of such tales, the believer may infer therefrom that Abú Sa'íd was anxious not to advertise such powers as he possessed. We certainly have authority for saying that he had no inclination to practise them idly. To one who asked him for a miracle, by way of proof, he quoted another Súfi who on a similar occasion had told his questioner that there were miracles everywhere around him, if he only chose to look; and that perhaps the greatest miracle of all was that he was allowed to be alive!

Clairvoyance however was the line in which Abú Sa'íd may be said to have specialized; and by his disconcerting habit of reading men's secret thoughts he won a large number of disciples. He also had his enemies. For that, his uncompromising hostility to orthodox Islám, and his tolerance of Christians and other unbelievers were mainly responsible. Súfiism, as an organized creed, was in his time in its infancy. It had but a handful of preachers, and these were widely regarded as dangerous heretics. In many of the places he visited he was subjected to scorn and active hostility: in Nishápúr, once, he came near to losing his life. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, if Abú Sa'íd occasionally indulged in the very human sin of praying God to confound his enemies.<sup>2</sup>

It may be questioned whether it is at all possible that a life lived on the lofty plane of thought of the average Persian mystic can escape violent inconsistencies; whether the end is not inevitably "self-delusion and imposture."<sup>3</sup> It must be admitted at once that Abú Sa'íd was by no means always the "austere pietist." Many stories, in fact, tell of his extremely sane humanity. After one period of rigid austerity he came forth clad in fine raiment and attended by a slave girl who ministered to his wants, to the immense disgust of an ascetic whose criticism, however, Abú Sa'íd sharply rebuked. To pleasant food and convivial dinners he was no stranger. Nor did he scorn human love; though he had qualms of conscience when he saw his family grow up round him; and, we are told,

<sup>1</sup> This version of the "miracle" is taken from the *Hálát-ú-Sukhunán*. A fuller, and more sober account, is given in the *Asrár ut tauhíd* according to which Abú Sa'íd was not in Bokhárá when the merchant arrived at that city. The latter did not in fact discover who his benefactor was until three years later when he saw him preaching in the Súfi monastery at Nishápúr.

<sup>2</sup> As, for example, in quatrains Nos. 84 and 88 of this collection. But it would perhaps be hardly fair or safe to base an estimate of Abú Sa'íd's character on the quatrains which appear solely in the Hyderabad edition.

<sup>3</sup> See Whinfield's introduction to the *Maqnawi* of Jalál-ud-din Rúmi.

felt he had to satisfy his scruples on that score by the grotesque feat of reading the Qurán head-downwards, suspended from a beam in the roof: a penance which, we are not surprised to learn, nearly caused his death by apoplexy.

On the other hand he had a very healthy view of man's duties and obligations in this world. "No man is perfect," he said, "who does not mix with other men." He was not above helping the temple servants in their menial work, and did not hesitate to prescribe that duty to others as a salutary lesson in humility. If Abú Sa'íd was inconsistent, we may be sure the world was all the better for it. Whatever faults he had, hypocrisy was not one of them. He preached sincerity towards God and man, and he was himself sincere. No one, I think, can read his verses without feeling that whatever he did, in whatever mood he might be, he was genuinely in search of knowledge of the Truth, and of spiritual perfection. Whether in the market-place or in the pulpit, whether in the monastery or in the desert, he was seeking that union with God which was his goal. To a dervish who asked him once where he could find God, he answered: "where have you sincerely sought Him that you did not find Him?" The certain conviction that God was everywhere, and that everything was God, is the key to his life and his philosophy.

The quatrains which follow are naturally not all on the same level of thought and expression. But there are some beautiful and moving poems among them. He has the depth of feeling of the Oriental, but at the same time is peculiarly free from those artificialities of expression that seem so strange to western ears; and when we remember that almost all the verses are purely "occasional," composed in response to a passing mood, or the need of a fugitive moment, it is remarkable that they should have such a permanent value; and that they should reach, on the whole, such a high degree of literary excellence. But perhaps the chief interest of this collection is the variety of characters in which it reveals our Saint. He is a victim of toothache, and other human ills; a sympathetic friend; a contrite sinner, a moraliser on life and age. But above all he is the mystic, eloquent of his devotion to the divine Friend. As we read him we forget that he lived 900 years ago, and that he is of alien race. Rather we realize that, like every true mystic, he belongs to no time and no place. As Báhá-'ud-Din-i-Ámilí says:—

This land is not Egypt, nor 'Iráq, nor Syria;  
It is a City that hath no name.

It is a curious irony that the name of Abú Sa'íd should have come to be associated with an art which is opposed to the whole spirit of his beliefs and teaching. Magic had no place in the creed of the Súfi-least of all in the Súfism of Abú Sa'íd,



whose prayers are imbued with religious fervour and sincerity. It is impossible to believe that a poet whose whole doctrine of faith rested on the desire to achieve union with the Divine through love and self-sacrifice, could have seen any efficacy in mere repetition, or have sympathised with a system which displays nothing more than the vulgar wish to get from the gods something for nothing. Nevertheless his quatrains have acquired, after his death, a reputation for magical potency as charms and amulets no less wide than the fame he himself enjoyed during his life as a worker of miracles.

The introduction to the Hyderabad MS. describes the verses as a "Philosopher's stone (*gúgird-i-ahmar*) for the attainment of desires, for procuring daily bread, for vanquishing hearts, for driving away murrain, and for other purposes": and it goes on to give general directions for their due and fitting recital. Each quatrain that follows is prefaced by a few words describing in detail its object, and the particular method by which that object can be attained. To quote these instructions at any length would be tedious, and is foreign to my present purpose. One, however, is so curious that it may be given in full. That is the preamble to the first quatrain in the Hyderabad MS. (No. 17 in 'Abd-ul Wali's collection). It runs as follows:—

"For the use of one whose sweetheart is refractory or who is suffering from love, and burning in the fires of separation. He should have recourse to this quatrain for two days, reciting it seven times in one breath. He will attain his object in the following way:—

He must search for the lady diligently, and if he happen to see her passing by, must pick up some dust from the path she will tread, and after quietly performing an ablution, recite the quatrain seven times with one breath, and then fold the dust in a piece of paper, and taking his stand by the road she is passing, throw the paper at her back. Then he should enter into conversation with her, and after a while part from her. If she still persists in her coldness, he must repeat the procedure with extreme care, when he will gain his desire."

It is hardly necessary to say that such senseless rigmarole as this could not have been written by Abú Sa'id. There can be no doubt, in fact, that all these descriptions of the objects prayed for, and the directions for the proper recital of the quatrains, are the unauthorised work of later hands, and fairly represent the cloud of myth and romance that so often in the East trails after the name of any man distinguished in his life for great piety and austerity.

I feel I owe a word of explanation for the notes to the Translation. They are the very A B C of Súfiism, and will be perfectly familiar to every student of that phase of Islamic thought. But there may be some who will chance to read these pages to whom the terminology may be strange, and the mean-



ing dark. I hope that the notes will throw a little light on these things.<sup>1</sup>

A word in conclusion as to the text. The MS. of Qádirí presented some difficulty. It has been so carelessly copied and contains so many obvious mistakes that I have had to take the liberty of emending it wherever that was necessary. Variations in the readings, where I have considered them worthy of record, and a few of the emendations in the text of the Hyderabad MS. and the source of each quatrain, are given in the Notes to Text.

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<sup>1</sup> To those who are curious to learn something about Súfiism, and its place in the history of the world's thought, there are ample opportunities.

Dr. E. H. Whinfield's translation of the Quatrains of 'Omar Khayyám and the *Masnavi* of Jalál-ud-dín Rúmí (both in Treubner's Oriental Series); of the *Lawáih* of Sámi, and especially of the *Gulshan-i-Ráz* of Shabistari; and Professor R. A. Nicholson's translation of the *Diwán-i-Shams-i-Tabriz* and his "Mystics of Islam," in the Quest Series,—form a rich mine of knowledge.

To these two Shaikhs of our own day every traveller in the path of Súfiism owes—it goes without saying—profound obligations.

## TRANSLATION.

## 1.

Come back to Me ; come back to Me, whoever thou art, come back to Me ;  
 Unbeliever, or magian or worshipper of idols ; come back to Me.  
 This Court of Mine is not the Court of Despair ;  
 Though thou hast broken thy vows a hundred times, come back to Me.

To all religious forms the Súfi, like every mystic, was indifferent. Sincerity of worship Abú Sá'íd held to be of more value than adherence to any particular creed. "The ways to God," he said, "are countless as the atoms." The demands of strict orthodoxy were indeed regarded as a positive snare. The author of the *Majális-ul-Ushsháq* (*The Assemblies of Lovers*) a book of memoirs of famous "lovers" written in A.D. 1502 quotes one 'Ain-ul-Qazá of Hamadán as declaring that he will destroy his religion, and take love in its place :

آتش زنم و بسوزم این مذهب و کیش  
 عشقت بدhem بجای مذهب در پیش

I'll set my creed afire, my faith I'll burn ;  
 And, quit of them, to love for Thee will turn.

## 2.

Pass, O morning breeze, through Her garden,  
 And tell that adorable Marjoram !  
 To guide Her steps towards me, for a space,  
 And honour this desolate abode of my heart.

## 3.

Said I : 'O Beloved, tulip-faced One, Possessor of my heart,  
 Show Thy face to me in my dreams, but once.'  
 Said He : 'Thou goest to sleep without Me and then  
 Thinkest thou mayest see Me in thy dreams ?'

<sup>1</sup> Compare the *Diván-i-Shams-i-Tabriz* xxvi. 5, where the Beloved is referred to as a "cypress."

## 4.

O God, turn aside this calamity  
 Preserve us from this disaster.  
 By the locks of Muhammad  
 Confound thou our oppressors.

## 5.

I cry aloud for help from this love ;  
 I have dealings with a strange sweetheart.  
 If He hath done justice to my broken heart, I am content ;  
 And if not, I will follow Love's course whatever the price.

"Love," says Dr. R. A. Nicholson, "implying loss of self-hood and by that means perfect union with the Divine Beloved is the living rock on which all mysticism is based." If Súfiism can be said to have a definite creed, that creed is love.

. . . . . "Love is all that exists,  
 Without the dealing of love there is no Entrance to the Beloved."

(*Diván-i-Shams-i-Tabriz*, xxiii, 2.)

There is much pain, and little bliss in this love. It is a fire which burns, a poison which has no cure, a draught of wine which intoxicates. For the Súfi however it is more than an occasional and bitter experience, it is his daily life : "My bed is sorrow and my pillow love" says Abú Sá'id ; and Mansúr-ul Halláj tells how this martyrdom is not only endured with patience, but eagerly welcomed :

سوخت جانم ز داغ غم لیکن  
 شوّق از دره عشق افزون شد

My soul is cauterized by fierce desire,  
 Yet still I long for love's relentless fire.

## 6.

I adjure Thee, O Lord, by Muhammad, by 'Ali, and by Zahrá ;  
 By Hasan and Husain, by the family of the Mantle ;  
 Of Thy bounty fulfil my desires in this world, and the Hereafter,  
 But make me not beholden to other men, O Highest of the high.

Fátima, the daughter of Muhammed, was called Fátimat-uz-Zahrá, Fátima the shining. The "family of the mantle" are Fatima herself, 'Ali

her husband, and their two sons Hasan and Husein, who on one occasion were covered by the Prophet's mantle in obedience to a Divine command which signified that they were specially dear to God, and that whosoever invoked their names in prayer should obtain his wish.

## 7.

Live not O heart without that Beloved of ours,  
 He is better, I ween, than a hundred sweethearts.  
 The Beloved is not with me, and no sweetheart is in my  
 arms ;  
 O send me the Beloved, or take away my heart.<sup>1</sup>

## 8.

Thanks be to God that thy body hath become a garden of  
 well-being,  
 That Health hath poured flowers of delight into thy lap.  
 It was an ill-chance that led the fever to thee :  
 God be thanked that it turned to sweat, and came dripping  
 from thy limbs.

## 9.

There is fat on the cow—but the cow is in the highlands.  
 Isinglass in the fish—but the fish is in the ocean.  
 The goat is on the hill, the panther in Bulghar.  
 Hard, hard it is to draw this bow.

The meaning of this quatrain seems to be that union is very hard to attain; and the poet compares the difficulty with which the "traveller" reaches his goal to that experienced in worldly matters. Compare the couplet

آرزوی دوست دارم یک دریا در عیان  
 خانه ملاج در چین است و کشندی در فرنگ

which might be translated thus:

"I am longing for my sweetheart, but between  
 us rolls the main,  
 And the boatman is in China, and his boat's  
 away in Spain!"

"Bulghar" in the third line is probably the  
 ancient country of that name situated on the

<sup>1</sup> There are several possible ways of reading this quatrain. The merit of the original depends on a play of words which I have not even attempted to reproduce.

eastern banks of the river Volga. The city of Bulghar is said to have perished in the 15th century A.D. when the modern Kazan took its place.<sup>1</sup>

## 10.

My love who broke her vows of friendship to me  
 Went ; and as she passed I caught her skirt in my hands.  
 Said she : " After this thou wilt see me in thy dreams."  
 Did she think, forsooth, that after that I could sleep !

The subject of this verse may be the Divine Friend; but it is difficult to read such a reference into every one of Abú Sá'íd's quatrains. Nor is it necessary. Human, or " profane " love ( عشق مجازی ) had a place even in the Súfi's austere faith. It could not very well be ignored; so it was justified, on logical grounds, by the argument that poor though it was it might kindle the true flame. " The false," says a *hadíth*, " is the bridge which leads to the true." One of the lessons of Jámí's poem *Yusuf and Zuleikhá* is that just as Zuleikhá's beauty was " a single bud from the garden of His beauty," so her love for Joseph was the type of the divine love.

Magdalen in Mary Cholmondeley's novel " Prisoners " expresses the same idea: " The love of you is the cup of water; and ' the love of God the well it is taken from.' "

## 11.

An arrow sped from the curved bow of Thy eyebrow  
 My heart fancied it saw a ray of union ;  
 Gladly, gladly through my heart it passed, that arrow, and  
     coyly said  
 I cannot stay with one as unworthy as thee.

## 12.

He whom destiny hath numbered among the lovers  
 Is free of mosque and house of worship.  
 To him who is mad with love what is union or separation ?  
 To him who hath left Self, what is Heaven—what is Hell ?

<sup>1</sup> See Bretschneider's " Medieval Researches " (Treubner's Oriental Series), pages 81 to 99.

In the creed of the Súfi there was no place for either Heaven or Hell. Thoughts of the other world must be abjured as sternly as the distractions of this, by the truly disinterested "lover." To the orthodox Moslem Paradise may have been held out by Muhammed—on the authority of Allah—as an end desirable in itself. To the Súfi it was "not worth a straw."

## 13.

O heart, turn wholly to blood; why hast thou patience?  
 Away with thee, O life; what profits all thy beauty?  
 O eye, what is that pupil<sup>1</sup> of thine? Shame on thee!  
 Thou that cans't not see the State of the Beloved, of what avail is thy sight?

## 14.

My heart acquired thy habit of fighting and striving;  
 My soul found the jewel of eager desire for thy street.  
 I said to the down on thy cheek, 'Help me';  
 But it too fighteth on the side of thy comely face.

The meaning of lines 1 and 2 is that his heart and soul have rebelled against him, and deserted him.

## 15.

At the hour of Union from the fear of banishment deliver us;  
 In the time of Separation, from its intolerable pain deliver us.  
 Alas, for this severance from my Beloved, alas!  
 From this unendurable pain deliver us.

The ultimate goal of the Súfi's journey was "Union," absorption into the world-soul of which his own soul was a part, or (to use a favourite metaphor) immersion in the Absolute, as a drop of water in the ocean.

This is simply another way of expressing their pantheism. For "in the world of unification," as the great pantheist Báyazid says, "all can be one: lover, beloved, and love, all one."

It was when they felt they had reached this exalted state of "union" that Báyazid and Mansúr uttered their splendid blasphemies. "As a snake from its skin I came forth from Báyazid-ness . . . I am no more, for He speaks with my

<sup>1</sup> سَعْدَة in the third *mīzā* means "manhood," "courage" as well as "pupil of the eye."

tongue, and I have vanished. . . . verily, I am God: There is no God except me, so worship me! Glory to me! How great is my Majesty."<sup>1</sup>

Regarded more soberly, it demanded freedom from all "taint of self."

قا از خود ناشهه فالي فياري وصلت باقي

"Till you die to self, you will not live in Union."

### 16.

Thy glance doth immortalize the heart.  
The pain of thy love turneth sorrow into gladness.  
Were the wind to carry the dust of thy street to Hell,  
Its fires would become the water of life.

Compare Háfidh:—

هونگز نمیورد آنکه دلش زندگ شد بعشق

"He will never die whose heart is quickened by love."

### 17.

To sell happiness is the desire of my destiny;  
To wear coarse wool is my ambition's aim.  
Here one request will give you the two worlds;  
But my proud spirit bids me keep silence.

### 18.

Whence hath he come this mischievous Gabr ?  
Whence hath this image of the grave appeared ?  
He has hidden my Sun from mine eyes.  
Whence has appeared this patch of cloud ?

Abú Sa'íd seems here to be abusing his lower and sinful self. Like a cloud his passions obscure the "sun of truth" and hide it from his eye. The earthly part of man's nature must, of course, be sternly suppressed. 'Ain-ul-Qazá puts the position vigorously enough:—"Uproot the foundations of your earthly life, even as a courtezan who fleeth from her city."

<sup>1</sup> Quoted by Dr. R. A. Nicholson in an article on Sufism in the J.R.A.S. 1906, Vol. II.



## 19.

He Whom thou fanciest to be thy enemy is thy friend, sawest thou what He did ?  
 Dids't thou plumb His depths and see that which He did ?  
 Said He : " All that thy heart desires will I do."  
 Sawest thou what He did ? Didst thou hear what Hè said ?

## 20.

Thou art too good for any man to think of Thee,  
 Or for such as I to ponder on thy state.  
 But God, thy Creator, glories in His work perchance,  
 And delights in gazing upon thy beauty.

## 21.

What can the lover do who humbleth not himself ?  
 How shall he spend the nights, when he goes not to thy street ?  
 If he kiss thy locks, be not angry ;  
 What can the madman do but search for a chain ?

To compare curled locks to a chain which binds the lover to his beloved is a common simile in Oriental poetry. Compare 'Iráqí :—

بَارِ بِزَنْجِيرٍ زَلْفٌ مُّرَا مِيدَكْشَد  
دَرَبِيْ عَوَّمِي رَوْمَ تَادَدَ كَهْجَا مَيْ كَشَد

The Friend is drawing me by the chain of His locks,  
 And I follow Him whithersoever He draws me.

## 22.

The men of His path have no thought of existence.  
 Self-regard they practise not, nor self-worship.  
 There where the men of God drink the Wine of Detachment,  
 They drain the tavern ; yet fall not into excess.

The *Gulshan-i-Ráz* of Mahmúd-i-Shabistari (1250 — 1320) one of the great mystical treatises of all time, speaks of "the haunters of the tavern who are drunk with the wine of illumination from self."

By the words " commit no drunken excess " (in line 4) he means that they are not blinded to the Truth by loss of self-control. The composure of " sobriety " is, as a mental state, contrasted by the Súfis with the rapture of " intoxication."

## 23.

This life of ours passes like an April cloud ;  
The tears of these eyes are like unto a mountain-torrent.  
Live in such wise, good Sir, that after thy death  
Thy friends may bitterly regret thy loss.

Compare the lines quoted by Elizabeth Barrett in a letter to Robert Browning (Browning's Letters, Vol. I, page 372).

Like to the cloud upon the hill  
We are a moment seen.

As Thomas à Kempis says : "The end of all is death, and man's life passes away suddenly like a shadow."

*Line 4.*—Abú Sa'id once said : "Thou camest into the world weeping, and men laughed at thee. Strive to die laughing, that men may ever weep for thee."<sup>1</sup>

## 24.

The men of God belong to a different world from ours,  
Those birds of the air come from a different nest.  
O look not on them with these eyes of thine.  
For they are free of the two worlds and dwell in a place other than ours.

These men of God are the dervishes, the "men of alchemy" as he calls them in another quatrain, who "turn the copper of existence into gold." The *Gulshan-i-Ráz* describes them in language reminiscent of this quatrain, as "birds of the soul" (*line 842*).

## 25.

O wind, I adjure thee by the sacred earth of the Prophet ;  
And thee, O rain, by 'Ali the chosen.  
The people are fallen to weeping—Stay, stay,  
O sea, I conjure thee by the martyr of Kerbela.

## 26.

When the love of my Idol first stole my heart,  
My neighbours could not sleep because of my cries.  
Now when I lament less, my pain has increased ;  
When a thing is wholly on fire, the smoke diminishes.

<sup>1</sup> *Asrár-ut-tauhid*, page 317.

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## 27.

They say there will be much debate on Resurrection day,  
And stern will that dear Friend be.  
From The Worker of good, naught but good can come.  
Be glad : for in the end it will be well.

## 28.

Thou should'st not have shown thy face to me first.  
So the fires of my grief might have smouldered elsewhere.  
Now that thou hast appeared and snatched my heart from me,  
Thou art compelled to become the thief of my heart.

## 29.

My heart can never cease to remember thee  
Though my life pass—yet will the memory of thee remain.  
The image of thy face has fallen on the mirror of my heart:  
An image that can never be erased.

## 30.

Old am I ; but when Love comes as a friend,  
The time of revelry and joy and blandishment returns.  
I shall throw a noose made of her long tresses  
Over the neck of my departed years, that I may bring them  
back.

## 31.

When I go into the garden, I remember Thy street,  
And every flower I gaze on recalls Thy face.  
If I sit for a while 'neath the shade of the cypress,  
Thy charming cypress-form comes back to my memory.

This quatrain suggests a good deal more than the thought that God has created everything. It embodies the mystical pantheism which saw in all the forms of the universe (man himself included) nothing but "the rays of His perfect beauty mirrored therein." These pantheistic ideas which were first preached by the great Báyazíd, were enthusiastically taken up by Abú Sa'íd. India was probably the land of their birth. It was the object of the Vedanta philosophy to teach men the true nature of Brahma, who pervaded the universe, and of Maya, the illusion which gave to all forms their appearance of reality. To the Vedantist, as to the Súfi, all nature is God; the world is simply a mirror in which God is reflected.

## 32.

If mine enemies array themselves against me, I will prevail;  
 'Tis as if a handful of straw had slapped the sea.  
 I am like to a naked sword in Destiny's hand;  
 He is killed who dashes himself against me.

## 33.

The Beloved wants the gift of my weary heart;  
 Let me send it to Him—if so He will.  
 Then shall my eyes be fixed upon the road,  
 Waiting for the glad news that my life, too, is wanted.

Junayd, the great mystic of Baghdád, who lived in the second half of the 9th century A.D., discovered one day that he had lost his heart. He asked God to give it back to him. But an unseen voice answered: "O Junayd, I stole from thee thy heart that thou mightest stay with Me. Dost thou wish it back so that thou mayest remain with other than Me?"

The "Law of Sacrifice," one of the great rules of the mystic path, demands not only abstinence and willing service but, in its esoteric sense, the "passing away" (لِي) of self; death that life may follow.

عاشق چو شوی نیخ سر باید خورد  
 زهری که رس د همچو شکر باید خورد

When you are a lover you must bow your head to the sword.  
 You must drink the poison that is offered you as though it were sherbet.<sup>1</sup>

## 34.

Thou should'st sorrow, my master, at the thought of the grave,  
 Thy heart should burn, thy eyes weep.  
 Thou hast a hundred opportunities for worldly affairs,  
 Once, at least, thou should'st take thought of the grave.

Compare the *Qur'án* Sura 102:—"The emulous desire of multiplying riches employeth you until ye visit the graves. By no means should ye thus employ your time."

<sup>1</sup> Abú Sa'id, quatrain 278 in 'Abd-ul-Wali's Collection.

## 35.

When the Huris were drawn up in their ranks to see the Beloved,  
Rizván clapped his hands in amazement.  
But when that Dark Mole veiled their faces,  
The Abdál clutched the Book in terror.

This "riddle" is impossible to solve without the key. The following is the interpretation (contained in a commentary in the Oudh Library, a copy of which is also in the Hyderabad State Library): "The Huris are the 'Ayán-i-thabita', the epiphanies of the Divine idea, underlying each one of God's names and qualities. When these were first manifested in the world of phenomena, Rizwán—representing the denizens of Paradise—clapped his hands in joy and amazement at the marvel of creation. But on the last day when the world is blotted out by the "mole," which is the "point of unity" on the face of God's majesty, the men of God (Abdál) will clasp in terror the Book of the Prophet's existence for whose sake God created the world."

## 36.

On the day when I shall behold my Beloved's beauty,  
I shall be all eyes—from head to foot,  
So that I may gaze on Him with a thousand eyes:  
For how can the Friend be seen with but two eyes?

## 37.

Where Thou art, there can be no trace of grief.  
Where Thou art not, no heart can be glad.  
He who knows not a moment's separation from Thee,—  
His joy is greater than Heaven and Earth

## 38.

Said I 'Here are my eyes.' Said He 'Fix their gaze on the Path.'  
Said I 'Here is my heart.' Said He 'Let it burn with thy sighs.'  
Said I 'Here is my soul.' Said He 'What hast thou in thy soul ?'  
'My passion, for thee' said I. 'Hold fast to that' He said.



"The beginning of the Path is the journey to God, and the journey in God is its goal," (al Ghazáli ob. 1111 A.D.). The adoption of a "path" with definite stages towards the goal marks the first attempt of the Sufis to reduce their vague beliefs to a definite shape.

Of its philosophical side something has already been said. On its ethical, it meant asceticism, scorn of wealth, charity and similar virtues. To one who asked him what the path was, Abú Sa'íd answered: "Sincerity and friendship; sincerity towards God, and friendship towards man."

## 39.

Loose Thou the tangle of my wretched life, O Lord ;  
Show me pity ; for the world has failed me in everything.  
Save Thy Court what other court have I ?  
O Thou who forgivest, turn me not from Thy door.

## 40.

By the two lights of the Prophet's eyes, O Lord,  
By the two lamps of Haidar's house,  
Look on me with the eye of favour, O Lord.  
Let me not fall away from Thy sight.

## 41.

At thy feast, O my delight, I am wretched and a prisoner.  
In slaying me thou dost no crime.  
Speak with my rivals and bid me burn with envy ;  
Look not towards me, and bid me die of rage.

## 42.

My heart journeys no road save that of Thy love ;  
It seeks no bourne save labour and the sorrow of Thy love.  
Thy love hath made the desert places of my heart a salt-marsh  
Wherein no other love but Thine may grow.

## 43.

The heart of every Mystic hides Thy secret.  
The door of Thy mercy is ever open to all.  
Whosoever cometh to Thy Court, a suppliant,  
Shall he ever return disappointed therefrom ?

## 44.

My poor heart is full of sorrow ; forgive it and ask not.  
A hundred disasters wait in ambush for me ; forgive me and  
ask not.  
Were Thou to ask me what I have done, I were ashamed,  
O Thou most merciful of the merciful, forgive me and ask not.

## 45.

O Thou who art a Friend to the friendless of the world,  
Whose bounty, though it be a grain's weight, sufficeth the  
whole world ;  
I am friendless ; and Thou art the helper of the friendless.  
Hearken, O Lord, to my lonely cry.

## 46.

O Thou who knowest the secrets of all men's hearts,  
Who art the help of all men in their distress ;  
O Lord, grant me repentance and accept my excuses,  
Thou who dost grant repentance and forgiveness to all.

## 47.

Join thou the ranks of My friends, and fear not ;  
Be thou dust at the door of My threshold, and fear not.  
If all the world seek thy life,  
Be not anxious ; come unto Me, and fear not.

## 48.

Thou art in my eyes : else would I flood them with tears ;  
Thou art in my heart, else would I drown it in blood.  
My soul hath only the hope of Union with Thee : were it not so,  
By a thousand devices I should drive it out.

*Line 1* : literally, "I would make an Oxus of them." The "occasion" of this quatrain is stated by the author of the *Majális-ul-ushsháq*—probably without the least foundation—to be as follows :—"There was once an elegant youth whose father was a boatman on the river Oxus, and a servant of the Sultan Mahmúd. On his heart, as upon a mirror, there fell suddenly the image of love for the hákím. None told the sage, but one day he sent the young man this quatrain." The hákím is *Hakím-i-Saná'i*, a celebrated Súfi poet who died in A.D. 1151. And as Mahmúd died in



1030, it is obvious either that the story is nonsense, or the hero of it is some other Saint—it may have been Abú Sa'íd who lived during the reign of Mahmúd of Ghazni.

## 49.

My heart looked long in the volume of love,  
And saw nothing worthy of love save thy comely face ;  
Even as thy face is a mole that adorns Beauty,  
So the love of my tortured heart enriches Love itself.

## 50.

All Thy creatures are suppliant at Thy Court, O pure Creator,  
Waiting in anxious grief for one drop of water.  
Send down, of Thy clemency, the Water-carrier of the clouds  
That he may pour rain over this patch of earth.

## 51.

Almighty God, who is the Lord of the world,  
In the whole world there is none beside Him.  
He uniteth us one to the other,  
For He hath power to do that.

## 52.

O Thou of whom my need is, in whose hands is my Soul ;  
I have left all alien thoughts, and turn me toward Thee.  
My works are all evil, and shall nowise profit me,  
So I come to Thee with my hope, and place my trust in Thee.

## 53.

The hand which amorously grasped thy locks,  
In thy absence, beat stones against my breast.  
The eye that saw thee and drove sorrow from my heart,  
Without thee, bathed my face in blood.

## 54.

No trace of the Musulman bear I on my face,  
A Feringhi's dog has more honour than I.  
So black am I with sin that my presence there  
Would bring disgrace on Hell and on Hell's denizens.

## 55.

Though I injure others less, the more afflicted am I.  
The greater is my loyalty, the fewer are my friends.

The more I keep faith with men, and suffer them,  
Praise be to God, the more despicable am I in their sight.

The true test of a man's worth is the world's abuse. There is a "tradition" which says that "a man's faith is not perfect till 40 men have called him an unbeliever."

## 56.

Look Thou upon me for I am in sore plight.  
Entrust me not to any man, for I have none save Thee.  
Since Thou art the Lord of Bounty, my need is of Thee.  
Since Thou overcomest all, I yield myself to Thee.

## 57.

If I raise my hands aloft in prayer,  
I can move mountains from their very roots.  
Yet because of the favours of the one God,  
I bear in mind the words—"Endure with a beautiful patience."

## 58.

I am like an ancient treasure, the world knows of me, but  
knows me not;  
My light shines, yet is veiled; as a candle within its shade.  
Yea, I am like the weeping-willow growing in the garden;  
As I grow I bend low to the ground.

*Daqíánús* was an ancient mythical king of Persia.  
The adjective "belonging to the days of Daqíánús"  
is commonly used in the sense of "patriarchal,"  
"antiquated." *Line 4:* that is, in humility.

## 59.

Think not that I am afraid of the world that is to come,  
That I fear death, or the uprooting of my life.  
Since death is sure, why should I fear it?  
I worship myself—and it is that which I dread.

This quatrain may have been uttered by the Shaikh on his death-bed. The sentiments are exactly paralleled by several of the reported sayings of his last days. While he felt a passing regret at having to "set his face to the journey, and fold up the carpet of love," yet in death he found true unification; it was but "a curtain hiding the communion of Paradise."<sup>1</sup> And he asked his disciples to recite over his grave the following lines:—

دُوست بُو دُوست رفت بَار بَار  
 خوشتر از این هیچ نبود در جهان کار

Can there be anything better in life than its end,

When lover is joined to beloved, and friend to friend?

*Line 4.*—Shortly before his death he called one Hassan i-Muaddab to his bedside, and said to him:—"Remember that I called you not to self; I called you to the denial of self."<sup>1</sup>

## 60.

Heartless She is, I know, and seeks excuses;  
 Though I do not suffer, yet I know Her cruel ways.  
 Tyranny and injustice are Her only trade.  
 Well, well do I know the ways of my Beloved.

Compare the *Masnavi* (page 30. Whinfield's translation).

Let me then, I say, make complaint  
 Of the severity of that Fickle Fair One.  
 I cry, and my cries sound sweet in His ear;  
 He requires from the two worlds cries and groans.

(The famous mystical treatise called the *Masnavi* was composed by Jalál-ud-dín Rúmí, the greatest of all the Súfís, who lived from A.D. 1207 to 1273).

## 61.

Nor garden, nor pleasaunce, nor lawn do I want;  
 Nor cypress, nor rose, nor jasmine.  
 I only ask from my God for a retreat  
 Where I may be alone with Him whom I love.

## 62.

I had a fever, and I slew it in fire and water.  
 I killed it in a moment by writing and by spell.  
 Once again in my sweat I drowned it:  
 Drowned it, as though it were the hordes of Pharaoh.

<sup>1</sup> See *Hálat-ú Sukhúnán*, pp. 62-70.

## 63.

Last night when I was passing through the street of my love,  
Knowest thou what business I was after?  
I was led astray, a victim of her broken promises;  
I was wandering round the hill of my desire.

## 64.

Between my friend's two eyes—from nún to mím  
Thou seest an alif drawn on the silvern page of his face.<sup>1</sup>  
No-No—I am wrong: by a wonderful miracle  
"Tis the Prophet's finger which has split the moon in two.

## 65.

For a long time we have been drunk with the wine of Unity  
We have broken the glass of Plurality that these people held  
out to us.  
They talk falsely who say there is 'Annihilation.'  
So long as there is God, we, too, 'exist' in this battle-field of  
life.

A whole treatise might be written round this quatrain which deals with some of the fundamental conceptions of Sufiism. The first hemistich of another of Abú Sa'íd's rubá'iyát (211 in 'Abdul Wali's collection) has the same "argument":—

Till you leave Plurality, you cannot reach  
Unity;  
Till you leave your Self, you will never become  
a man of God.

That is, till you cease from regarding the diverse creations of the world as having each a separate identity, you cannot reach the stage when you will be able to realise the essential oneness of all things, and their identity with God; "the off-shoots will hide you from the Tree whence they spring" (*Lawâih-i-Jâmi*, page 22). 'Self' is one of the phenomena from which you must flee, else you will be blind to your true relationship with the One. This is the "annihilation," or rather "passing away," of Self.

What, then, does Abú Sa'íd mean by this denial of that very "annihilation"? He cannot possibly have meant to reject the universal doctrine of

<sup>1</sup> Nún, Mim, and Alif are letters of the Arabic alphabet; the first two characters are like circles, the third is a straight line.

"Faná." That conception which embraces the idea of "passing away" of all passions and desires, as well as of the cessation of all thought save of God, is, indeed, a basic doctrine of Sufism.

He must be understood, I think, to be criticising only the extreme doctrine of *total* annihilation of the attributes which some Súfis regarded as possible: the false theory that when a man's qualities were annihilated, he entered into God's. This involved the pernicious heresy of "incarnation" (*Hulúl*) which was odious to every right-minded Súfi, who understood by the term "annihilation of attributes" nothing more than the submergence of man's *will* in God's, so that he no longer regarded himself, but became entirely devoted to, and conscious of nothing save, God.<sup>1</sup>

## 66.

Appoint me to Thy service, of Thy mercy, O Lord.  
 Acquaint me with the truths of Thy peculiar people.  
 My heart is oppressed by tyrant Reason,  
 Make me mad with Thee, and liberate me.

*Line 4.*—That is, liberate me from thoughts of other than Thee. "His Service" then "is perfect freedom."

A dervish once asked Abú Sa'id the meaning of service. He answered: "God created you free; free you should remain"; which he explained by adding:—"Till you are free of the two worlds you will not become His servant."

*Line 3.*—Reason is no guide to the truths after which Abú Sa'id was seeking. God is inapprehensible; there is no mark or trace of Him,<sup>2</sup> and neither knowledge nor conjecture can pierce the mystery, which can be revealed only to what St. Paul calls "spiritual vision." "In addition to his reason," says Láhiji in his commentary on the *Gulshan-i-Ráz*, "man has a certain faculty whereby he perceives hidden mysteries. This faculty is evoked by love of the Truth, and ends . . . in Divine illumination."

This is the "inner light," or "intellectual vision" of the Platonists.

A well-known story relates how after the great

<sup>1</sup> See Dr. R. A. Nicholson on *Faná* in the J.R.A.S. for 1913.

<sup>2</sup> د رائی عمارت بی نشانی (Mansúr-ul-Halláj)

Avicenna had first met Abú Sa'íd at Nishápúr, he told his disciples "Abú Sa'íd sees all that I know." And Abú Sa'íd said of Avicenna "All that he knows, I see."

## 67.

Turn my thoughts, O Lord, from this world and the next;  
Exalt me with the crown of poverty.  
Reveal unto me the mysteries in the way of the Quest.  
Turn my steps from the road that leads not to Thee.

Mansúr-ul-Halláj was once asked : " What is the way to God ? " He answered : " Two paces, and you have arrived there ; one takes you out of this world ; and the other out of the world to come. Then you are with God."

We are reminded, too, of a passage in the *Gulshan-i-Ráz* which says that the world to come is of no account beside the "quitting of self," when man will be "most rich in uttermost poverty."

## 68.

Send me, O Lord, to the friend who has understanding,  
Bring the sound of my grief to his echoing heart.  
I am grief-stricken because of this separation,  
Send him to me—and send me to him.

69.<sup>1</sup>

A curse upon their impudent frolics !  
Their black eyes, and negro forms !  
From early evening till the last moment of the night  
They are all a-dancing ; and I am the harp they twang !

## 70.

Hide Thou my evil deeds from the sight of men ;  
Smooth for me life's difficulties.  
Grant me happiness To-day ; and To-morrow  
Do unto me that which befits Thy clemency.

## 71.

O Lament, if thou hast a voice, declare thyself ;  
Inform that heedless drunkard.  
O hand of Love and Saintship, come forth :  
Help me, O heart of Muhammad's law.

<sup>1</sup> The object of the verse is said to be "to drive away insects and other pests."

72.<sup>1</sup>

The sorrows of the world have fallen upon this house of mourning.  
They have become the intimate dwellers therein.  
O Lord of Thy bounty  
Forgive these teeth of mine, by the soul of Uwais-i-Qarani.

## 73.

O Lord, enrich me with contentment,  
Illumine my heart with the light of certainty.  
I am burnt; I am perplexed. Fulfil Thou my desires:  
But render me not beholden to other men.

*Line 4.* It is curious how often we come across the same idea in Abú Sa'id. Compare Nos. 6, 17 and 96 in this collection. God is the "dihanda-yi-be minnat"—the giver who, unlike man, claims no return for every service He renders.

## 74.

Thy face is an ocean of beauty. Thy lips are the coral;  
Thy locks are amber; thy mouth a shell; thy teeth are pearls.  
Thine eyebrow is a boat which rides on the waves of thy forehead;  
Thy chin is a whirlpool; and thine eyes a storm.

## 75.

Until my heart is rejoiced by the ruby of thy lip  
I shall do naught but sigh and burn with grief.  
Thou said'st 'I shall come to thy house one day.'  
When, when will that day be?

## 76.

O mighty Creator, O Lord of pity,  
Thou who accomplishest the desires of the destitute;  
Make Thou mine enemies subject to me,  
And those that know not mercy, to show mercy.

<sup>1</sup> This quatrain is said to be a charm for toothache. For this purpose, it should be written out on a piece of paper which must then be folded into a small wad and packed into the offending cavity!

## 77.

Alas for the long nights, without Thee!  
Alas for the pain of separation from Thee!  
Thou art asleep in Thy disdain, and I am without Thee,  
I lie alone, fevered and in anguish.

## 78.

The melancholy of the destitute,  
The ruthlessness of this revolving earth,  
The anxious cares of the troubled in spirit,  
These are all naught—the pain of Love alone matters,

## 79.

O heart, that art banished from the Friend, weep tears of blood.  
O eyes, do ye likewise let an Oxus flow from you.  
O life, thou art not dearer to me than my Friend.  
Without Him I desire thee not—leave me.

## 80.

Who am I? One who hath set his heart a-fire,  
Whose gaze is fixed on the harvest of love.  
In the street of Constancy I go round like a millstone, restless  
as fire,  
Ever seeking the companionship of a perfect saint.<sup>1</sup>

## 81.

The light of Thee is the source of light of men's eyes ;  
Without Thy light no man's eye hath power to see.  
All men's eyes are turned towards Thee ;  
Because of Thy light there are fountains of light in men's eyes,

Line 2. "Send out thy light . . . for I am  
idle earth and void till thou illumine me." (*Imitation of Christ* III. xxvii.)

## 82.

Thou art pure and sinless, and without equal;  
No man hath possessions like unto this fair world of Thine;  
All men are asleep; Thou art awake.  
O Lord, open the door of Thy mercy to us.

<sup>1</sup> Line 4 سُوْدَنْ مُوْلَى literally means "one who is burnt," that is, in the fire of love; or one whose passions are burnt out.



## 83.

O Lord, my God, mighty Creator,  
How long shall I journey from door to door, from place to  
place ?  
Either shut Thou against me once and for ever the dwelling of  
Hope,  
Or unlock for me now the door of my endeavours.

## 84.

O Thou who beatest down the enemy's pride,  
And sweepest away the rubbish of the age,  
My heart is oppressed, O Lord, by these miscreants.  
Confound them, and plunge them in tumult and disaster.

## 85.

Thou gavest me a dwelling in Thy street, and a refuge,  
A place at the feast of union with Thee  
In short—with a hundred sweet endearments  
Thou didst make me love Thee; Thou dravest me into the  
desert.

Compare the *Imitation of Christ* III. xi:—“ But what art thou to thy lovers? . . . verily the sweetness of thy contemplation that thou grantest to thy lovers is unspeakable. . . . When I was not, thou madest me, and when I erred from thee, thou leddest me again . . . and thou commandest me to love thee.”

*Line 4.* That is to the “ secret places ” in which, says à Kempis, “ the great holy men, where they might, fled men’s fellowship and chose to live in God.” (I. xx).

## 86.

O Sovereign of the two worlds, help us,  
Give aid to our weakness and distress.  
O Lion of God come quickly to our appeal;  
To whom shall I cry save to thee who art our helper?

## 87.

Poverty and Need Thou hast made my companions,  
Thou hast made me want for an evening’s loaf.  
This is the rank of those who are near Thy door.  
Why hast Thou so dealt with me? What service have I done  
Thee, O Lord.

" My need is that I should need nothing," said Abú Sa'íd.

Junayd of Baghdád thus explains why he adopted Súfiism:—" I have not taken up this Súfiism for debate nor for strife and contention; but it is hunger we seek and sleeplessness; we would renounce the world, and sever ourselves from that which we have loved, and which has seemed pleasant in our eyes."

بکندر و سلیمان ببر ای صبا پیامی

شماست ملک و دولت من و ملک بینوانی

" To the sovereigns of the world bear this message, O morning breeze,

'To you belong empire and riches; mine is the kingdom of Destitution.' " ('Iráqi.)

### 88.

A chain for the neck of this generation!  
 Destruction for this stiff-necked people!  
 These crows have flown high enough in their pride.  
 Sticks for them, and stones; the knife and gun and arrow!

### 89.

Knowest thou wherefore at the first pale streak of dawn  
 The cock so sadly croweth?  
 Why, the mirror of the Dawn telleth thee  
 That one more night of thy life hath passed, and thou art still  
 heedless.

Compare Jalál-ud-dín Rúmí in the *Masnavi*  
 (p. 294).

. . . " Whosoever passes away from the world  
 Does not grieve and lament over his  
 death,  
 But grieves ever over lost opportunities."

### 90.

Hurt not my heart that lives only for thee,  
 Thou art its open and its secret love.  
 I am afraid lest by reason of thy oppression  
 My heart should turn to blood, while thou art within it.



## 91.

O Lion of God, prince Haidar, give me victory.  
 O opener of forts, open the gate of our Khaibar.  
 The doors of hope were shut in my face ;  
 O Lord of Zulfiqár and Qambar give me victory.

*Haidar* (the lion) : a name given to 'Ali because he slew a snake when an infant in swaddling clothes.

*Khaibar*: a fort near Medina which Muhammed captured from the Jews in A.H. 6.

*Zulfiqár*: the name of a sword taken by Muhammed at the victory of Badr, and given by him to 'Ali

*Qambar*: a freedman of 'Ali's.

## 92.

O Thou who knowest the sorrows of the sorrowful,  
 And canst give ease and balm to those in anguish :  
 Why should I tell Thee of the state of my heart,  
 Who knowest, though no word is uttered, of a myriad such as mine.

Compare the *Masnavi* :—

"The omniscient God needs not to be informed of men's case for He knows all; nor to be reminded of it, for He forgets nothing."

## 93.

Thou knowest the burden of the weary in spirit ;  
 Full well thou knowest the sorrow of the broken-hearted.  
 If from my burning heart I call to Thee, Thou hearest,  
 And if I keep silent—Thou knowest the words of the dumb.

## 94.

Though thou art in Yemen, if thy heart be with me, thou art nigh me;  
 If thy heart know me not, though thou art with me, thou art in Yemen.  
 Such is my nearness to thee, O dear one of Yemen,  
 That I am myself in doubt whether I am thou—or thou I.

The poet, who is presumably addressing a friend of his living in Yemen, uses words believed to have been spoken by Mohammed concerning a famous saint, Uwais-i-Qaraní, whom the Prophet is said to have called the "best of his disciples."



## 95.

Let me not lean for succour, O Lord, against any man's door,  
 Make me not beholden to King or beggar.  
 My black hairs have turned white in Thy beneficence,  
 Now that my head is white, make me not black with sin.

## 96.

Simple am I, and humble and poor ;  
 As thou art proud and arrogant and selfish.  
 If thou bid me sit on the fire, I shall obey.  
 If I humble myself before thee, thou wilt spurn me.

## 97.

O God, had I the wings of a bird  
 Every day I would get tidings of thee a hundred times.  
 But for this misfortune which constrains me,  
 How could I have torn my eyes from the sight of thee ?

## 98.

I am in pain; my breast is torn with suffering  
 A love I have, and an eye wet with tears.  
 A love—but what a love? one which burns the world;  
 What is my pain?—a pain that has no remedy.

Compare the lines quoted by Dr. R. A. Nicholson  
 in his edition of the *Díwán-i-Shams-i-Tabríz* :—

خدای پهلوی هر درد داروئی داده  
 چو درد عشق قدیماست ماند بی ز دوا

“God hath given a physic for every pain  
 Since the pain of love is old (eternal), for it  
 no remedy hath been found.”



#### LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

- H. Hyderabad MS. of Qádirí-i-Jílání.
- L. Small Lithographed Collection.
- A. The *Atíshkada* of Mírzá Latíf 'Alí Azar.
- R. The *Riáz-ul-Arifín* of Rizá Quli Khán Hidáyat.
- T. The *Tadhkírā-yi-Husseini* of Mírzá Hussein-i-Dúst Sambali.
- RR. The *Rúz-i-Raushan* of Muzaffar Husein-i-Şabá.
- E. Ethé's Extracts.

# رباعیات

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## شیخ ابوسعید ابوالخیر

( ۱ )

باز آ باز آ هر آنچه هستی باز آ      گو کافر و گبر و سرت پوستی باز آ  
این درگاه ما درگاه نومیدی نیست      صددار اکو توبه شکسته باز آ

( ۲ )

نسیما جانب بستان گذر کن      سگو آن فازینین شمشاد ما را  
به تشريف قدم خود مانه      مشرف کن خراب آناد ما را

( ۳ )

گفتم صنم لاله رخا دلدارا      در خواب نما چهره باری ما را  
گفتا که روی بخواب بے ما وانگه      خواهی که دگر بخواب بینی ما را

( ۴ )

خداؤند بگردانی بلا را      ازین آفت نگهداری تو ما را  
بعق آن دو گیسوئی مُعَمَّد      زیون گردان زیورستان ما را

1. H.

2. H.

3. H. T. E. This is metrically not a rubā'i.

4. H. T.

( 5 )

وافریدا ذعشق وافریدا  
کارم بیکسی طرفه نگار افهادا  
بگر داد من شکسته دادا دادا  
ورنه هن و عشق همراهه بادا بادا

( ۶ )

با رب بِمُحَمَّدٍ وَعَلَيْهِ وَزَهْرًا  
از لطف بر آر حاجتم دور دوسران

( v )

ای دلبر ما میباش بے دلبر ما  
یکدلبر ما به از دوست دلبر ما  
نه دلبر ما نه دلبر اندر بو ما یا دلبر ما

( 8 )

صد شکر که گلشن شفا گشت قدمت  
تب را بغلات در نفت افقاد گذار  
صحت گل عیدش رویخت در پیوهنات  
همت که عرق شد و چکیده از بدانت

( 9 )

پیله در گاو است و گاو در کهنسار است  
ماهی سریشمی بدریابار است  
بنز در کوهست و بوز در بلغار است  
ذله کردن این کمان یعنی دخواه است

(一七)

آن یار که عهد دوستداری بشکست  
میرفته و هدش گرفته دامن در دست  
مینگفت که بعد ازین بخواهم بینی  
بزداشت که بعد ازین همرا خواهی بست

5 H Metrically incorrect. This, like No. 3, is in the *hazaj* metre.

D. H. A.  
G. L. T.

6. L. T.

7. L. T.

L. T.  
H. T.

9. H. A. R. In the second and third *misras* I adopt the reading  
of R.

10. H. The original text was

لخواهم بیدی - پیداست که بعد ازین صرا خواهی هست \*

which is meaningless. I am indebted to a Persian friend for the emendation.

( ۱۱ )

نیزی ز کمان خانه ابروی تو جست  
دل پرتوی وصل را خیالی می سست  
خوش خوش ز دلم گذشت و می گفت بذاز  
ما پهلوی چون توی نخواهید اشست

( ۱۲ )

آنرا که قضا ز خیل عشاق نوشت  
آزاد ز مسجد است و فارغ ز کاشت  
دیوانه عشق را چه هجران چه وصال  
از خوبش گذشته را چه دوزخ چه بهشت

( ۱۳ )

ای دل همه خون شوی شکننده چدست  
وی جان بدر آین همه رعنایی چیست  
ای دیده چه صرد میت شرمت داد  
نا دیده بحال دوست بیفایی چدست

( ۱۴ )

دل عادت و خوی جنگ جوی تو گرفت  
گفت م بخط تو جانب ما دا گیر این هم ظرف روی نکوی تو گرفت

( ۱۵ )

در وصل ز اندیشه دوری فریاد در هجر ز درد ناصب وری فریاد  
افوس ز صعور می دیدار افسوس فریاد ز درد ناصب وری فریاد

( ۱۶ )

دل از نظر تو جاؤ دانی گودد غم با الـم تو شادمانی گردد  
گریاد بدوزخ بود از کوی تو خای آتش همه آپ زندگانی گردد

11. H.

12. H.

13. H. The text has ل in line 4; ل is obviously the correct reading.

14. H.

15. H.

16. H.

( ۱۷ )

طالع سو عافیت نوشتی دارد همت هوس پلاس پوشی دارد  
اینچاکه بیک سوال بخشد دو کون استغایم سو خوشی دارد

( ۱۸ )

ابن کیدی گبر از کجا پیدا شد این صورت قیرو از کجا پیدا شد  
خورشید صراز چشم من پنهان کرد این لکه ابر از کجا پیدا شد

( ۱۹ )

آن دشمن دوست بود دیدی که چه کرد تا اینکه بغور او رسیدی که چه کرد  
صیغفت همان کدم که خواهد دل تو دیدی که چه میگفت و شنیدی که چه کرد

( ۲۰ )

زان خوبتری که کس خیال تو کند یا همچو منی فکر حال تو کند  
شاید که آفریدش خود فاولد ایند که تماشای جمال تو کند

( ۲۱ )

عاشق که تواضع ننماید چه کند تجهیز که بکوی تو نباید چه کند  
گر بوسه دهد بزلف تو رنجه مشو دیوانه که زنجیر نجود چه کند

( ۲۲ )

مردان رهش میل بهتی نکند حود بینی و خوبشون پرسنی نکند  
آذچا کد معبدان حق می نوشند خمخانه تهی کند و متنی نکند

17. H. T.

18. L. T.

19. H.

20. H.

21. H.

22. H. T. R. T. gives the reading میل بهتی which is, I think,  
preferable to the میل بهتی of H.

R. ascribes this quatrain to one Sanjar-i-Khâfi (ob. A.D. 1592).

( ۲۳ )

این عمر بایو تو به اوان ماند      این دیده سیل کوه اران ماند  
 ای دوست چنان بزی که بعد از ودن      آنگشت گزیدنی به اران ماند

( ۲۴ )

مودان خ—اکدان دگوند      صرungan هوا از آشیان دگرد  
 منگر تو ازین چشم بدیشان کارشان      فارغ ز دو کون و در مکان دگرند

( ۲۵ )

ای باد بخای مصطفه—ایت سوگند      باران به علی موقظ—ایت سوگند  
 افداهه بگریه خلق اس کن      درما به شهد کوبلایت سوگند

( ۲۶ )

اول که دام عشق نگارم بروید      همایه من ز ناله من بخود  
 اکنون کم شد چو ناله در دم بفرزود      آتش چو هم گرفت کم گردد دود

( ۲۷ )

گویند بعثت—و گفت—و خواهد بود      وان بار عزیز تقد خو خ—واهد بود  
 از خیر بعض جز نکوئی ناید      خوش باش که عاقبت نکو خواهد بود

( ۲۸ )

اول رخ خود هما بایست نمود      تا آتش ما جای دگر گردد دود  
 اکنون که نمودی و بیودی دل ما      نا جار ترا دل—و ما باید بود

23. H. R. R. ascribes the quatrain to *Adá-yi-Yazdi*.

24. L.

25. H.

26. H. This quatrain has to be amended pretty considerably.

In *misra* (1) H. has .. ; in (2) ; and in (3) خون (3) H. has .. ; بگنو (2) ; اول که نمرا دل .. ; all of which are clearly incorrect.27. H. Identical with No. 193 in Whinfield's *Omar Khayyám*.

28. H.

( ۲۹ )

هونز دام از باد تو غافل نشود  
گر جان بیود صهر تو از دل فرود  
افقاده ز روی تو در آئینه دل عکس که به هیچ وجه زایل نشود

( ۳۰ )

بیویم ولی عشق چو دمساز آید  
هذگام نشاید و طرب و فاز آید  
از زلف رسائی او کندی مگذردم بو گردن عمر رفته تا باز آید

( ۳۱ )

د. باغ روم کوی تو ام باد آید  
برگل نگرم روی تو ام باد آید  
در سایه سود اگر دمی بخشیدم سرو قید دلچسپی تو ام باد آید

( ۳۲ )

من سرمه بوم که بر صفحه اعدا زد  
مشتی خاشاک لطمہ بو دریا زد  
ما قیخ بو هدایم در دست فدا شد کشته هر آنه خوبیش را بر معاذ

( ۳۳ )

دلبر دل خفته رایگان میخواهد بفرستم گر دلش چنان میخواهد  
و آنگه بذماره دیده بو راه بخشم تا مرده که آورد که جان میخواهد

( ۳۴ )

ای خواجه ز فکر گور عم می باید اند دل و دیده سوز و نم می باید  
صد وقت سرای کار دنیاداری یک وقت بفکر گور هم می باید

( ۳۵ )

حوران بنظر ارجاع کارم صفت دد رسموان ز تعجب کف خود برکف زد  
آن حال سیه بو آن رخان مطوف زد ابدال ز بیم چنگ در مصطفی ف زد

( ۳۶ )

دوزی که جه—ال دلهم دیده شود  
از فوق سرم تا نقدم دیده شود  
قاصن به—زار دیده دویش نگردم  
آری دو دیده دوست کی دیده شود

( ۳۷ )

جاییکه تو باشی ابرغم نبود  
آنچه که نباتی دل خرم نبود  
انوا که ز فرقه تو بک دم بگو  
شادیش ز همین و آسمان کم نبود

( ۳۸ )

گفتم چشم گفت برآمش میدار  
گفتم جگردم گفت باهش میدار  
گفتم که دلم گفت چه داری در دل  
گفتم غم تو گفت نگاهش میدار

( ۳۹ )

با رب بگشایگر رز کار من زار  
رحمی که ز خلق عاجزم در همه کار  
جز درگه تو کی دودم در گاهی  
معروف از من در نکام ای غفار

( ۴۰ )

با رب بسدو نور دیده بیده بیده  
برحال من از عین عذایت دنگر  
دارم نظری آنکه فیفتم ز نظر

( ۴۱ )

در بزم قوای شوخ صم زار و امیر  
در کشتن من همچند نداری تقصیر  
با غیر سخن کذی که از رشک دوز  
سویم نهانی نظر و که از غصه بیسر

36. H.

37. H. This is also quoted in the *Asrár-ut-Tauhid* among a number of miscellaneous verses of Abú Sa'íd's.

38. H.

39. L.

40. H. T.

41. H.

( १८ )

( ۴۲ )

ای سو تو در بیدار هر صاحب راز  
بیوسته در رحمت تو بر همه باز  
هر کس که بدرگاه تو آید بیدار  
معروم ندرگاه تو کی گردید باز

(四)

دارم دلکی غمین بیاموز و هی—رس  
مد واقعه در کمین بیاموز و مپوس  
ترنده شوم اگر بد—رسی عما—م  
با آنوم ائمهین بیاموز و هیبرس

(卷之二)

ای جمله بیکس-ان ؛—الم را کس  
بکجو کرمت تم—ام عالم را بس  
من بیکس-م و تو بیکس-ان را باری  
با رب قربغ—و باد من بیکس رس

( ۶ )

( ۱۶۴ )

ازدر صف دوستان عما باش و هنرس خاک در آستان ما باش و هنرس  
گو جمله جهان قصد بجان تو گلند فارغ دل شو از آن چا باش و هنرس

42 H. E. R.

43. H. But this belongs more probably to Šaif-ud-din-i-Bakharzi, a celebrated Sufi, who died in 1259 A.D. It is the first of 51 quatrains contained in the old and unique copy of his *rubá'iyát* in the Bankipore Oriental Library.

44. H. E.

45. L.

46. H. Identical with No. 276 in Whinfield's *Omar Khayyám*.

47. H. R. R. ascribes this to Muhammad Nasavi.

( ۴۸ )

در درد نه توئی و گر نه چیعون کدمش      در سیده توئی و کر نه پر خون کنمش  
 آمده و ممال قست جانرا ور نه      از تن بهزار حیله بیرون کنم ش

( ۴۹ )

دل کود بسی زگاه در دفه ر عشق      جز روی خوشت ندیده اندر خور عشق  
 چندانکه رخت خال نه برسو حن      شوریده دلم عشق نهد برس عشق

( ۵۰ )

خاقان همه بر درگهت ای خالق پاک      هستند بی قطره آبی غمناک  
 سقای سعاب را بفروما از لطف      تا آب زند برس این مشتی خاک

( ۵۱ )

حق تعالی که مالک الملک است      آیس فی الْمُلْكِ عَيْرَ مَالِكٍ  
 میروساند بیکدگ و ماردا      اَنَّهُ قَادِرٌ عَلَى ذَلِكَ

( ۵۲ )

رَامَنْ يَكْ حَاجَنِي وَ رُوحِي بِيَدِكَ      عَنْ غَرْفَتِ أَعْوَصْتُ وَ أَقْبَلْتُ إِلَيْكَ  
 مالی عَمَلْ صَالِحْ أَسْتَظْهِرُ بِهِ      قَدْ جَلَّكَ رَاجِبًا نُوكَلْتُ عَلَيْكَ

48. H. E. This quatrain which Ethé found in an anonymous and undated collection of rubá'iyát of ancient and modern poets (the most modern quoted is Mauláná Sahábí-i-Astarábádi who died in 1601 A.D.) in the India Office Library is attributed by the *Majális-ul-Ushsháq* (composed in 1502 A.D.) to Hakim-i-Sanáí. But see the note to the translation.

49. H. E. This quatrain has been taken by Ethé from the same collection as No. 48, the India Office MS. (I.O. 1265). It is also found in the *Majális-ul-Ushsháq* where it is described as one of "Some strange quatrains expressing the extremity of devotion" contained in the Imámi Ghazálí's "*Sawáníh-ul-Ushsháq*." Ghazálí died in 1111 A.D.

50. H.

51. H. T. This is not a correct quatrain. The first *misra* does not rhyme with the 2nd and 4th; and it is not in any of the *rubá'i* metres.

52. L. T.

( ۵۳ )

دستیکه زدی بناز در زلف تو چنگ  
چشمیکه ز دیدفت ز دل برده زنگ  
آن چشم بشست بی تو ام چهره بخون  
این دست بکوفت بی قوام سینه بانگ

( ۵۴ )

بر چه ره ندارم ز مهمانی رنگ  
دارد بر من شرف سگ اهل فرنگ  
آن روسیده ام که باشد از بودن من  
دو زخ دانگ و اهل دوزخ را ننگ

( ۵۵ )

آزدهه ترم آرجه کم آزار قرم  
بی بار ترم گهه و چه وفادار قرم  
با هر که وفا و صبر بیشش گودم  
سبحان الله بخشش او خوار قرم

( ۵۶ )

نظوی فگن بعالم که ز دست رفت کارم  
رکسم مکن حواله که بجز توکس آزادم  
تو چو صاحب عطاوی طلب من است از تو  
چو تو عالجی به رکس نتو خوبیش می سپارم

( ۵۷ )

گر دست نضرع رسدا بر دارم  
بیخ و بن کومه ما ز جا بردارم  
لیکن ز نظر لات معدود احمد  
فاصیه و صیه و احمد جمیلا از بردارم

( ۵۸ )

مشهور و خفی چو گنج دقیانوس م  
بیدا و نهان چو شمع در فاوس  
القصه درین چمن چو بید مجفنون  
میبلالم و در قوقی معکوس

53. H. E. An example of the *San'at-i-qalb*.

54. H.

55. H.

56. H. Metrically incorrect.

57. H. T.

58. H.

( ۵۹ )

ناظن دوی کز آن چهان می ترسم و ز مردن وز کندن چان می فرسم  
چون سرگ حقست من چوا ترسم ازو من خوش برسنم و از آن می ترسم

( ۶۰ )

می مهری آن به ازه چو میدانم بی درد و سقام عادت او میدانم  
جفر چور و جفا عادت آن بد خونی من شید و باز خود نکو میدانم

( ۶۱ )

می باخ نه بستان و چمن میخواهم دی سرو نه گل نه یاسمون میخواهم  
خواهم ز خدای خوش گذجی که دران من باشم و ان کسی که من میخواهم

( ۶۲ )

نب را کردم در آب و آتش کشتم بکچفده تعویذ و کذا باش کشتم  
ماش بکدار در هرق کردم غرق چون لشک و فرعون در آتش کشتم

( ۶۳ )

دیست ب که نکوی باز میگردیدم دایی که چه کار میگردیدم  
قویان خلاف وعده اش میگشتم کوید و انتظار میگردیدم

( ۶۴ )

ما بین دو عین باز از اون تا میم بینی الی کشیده بر صفحه سیم  
می سی غلطم که از کمال امعجزاً الکشت نبی است کودتا مه را به دو قیم

59. H. Very similar to No. 319 in Whinfield's *Omar Khayyám*.

60. H.

61. H.

62. H. T. T. gives what must in the main be the correct reading.

H. in *misra* (2) has میانش, which makes no sense.

63. H.

64. H.

( ۶۵ )

مددتی هست که ماز خم وحدت مسیدم      شیشه کتوت این طایقه را بشک-قیم  
اینکه گویند فدا هست غلط نمی گویند      ناخدا هست درین صورکه عاهم عقیم

( ۶۶ )

با رب ز کمال لطف خاص—م گردان      واقف بحقه—ایق خواصم گردان  
از عقل جفه—ا کار دل افکار شدم      دیوانه خود آن و خلاصه—م گردان

( ۶۷ )

با رب ز دو کون سی به—ازم گردان      از او—و فقر سر ڈوازم گردان  
در راه طلب صع—رم رازم گردان      راهی که نه سوی تست بازم گردان

( ۶۸ )

با رب تو مرا بیه—ار دم—از رسان      آوازه درد من ه—م آواز رس—ان  
آنکس که من از فراق او غمگین ام      اورا به—ن و ه—را باو باز رس—ان

( ۶۹ )

فریاد ز سنک روی ورنگی شان      وز چشم سیاه و صورت زنگی شان  
از اول شب قا بدم آخر شب      اینها همه در رقص و منم چنگی شان

( ۷۰ )

افعال بدم ز خلق پنهان میکن      دشوار جهان بودلم آسمان میکن  
امروز خوش—م بدار و ف—ردا با من      آنج از کوم تو میوس—فرد آن میکن

65. H. Metrically incorrect.

66. H.

67. H. L. This is quoted by Jāmī in his *Lawāīh* (Whinfield's translation, p. 19) without any indication as to its authorship.

68. H. T. E.

69. H. The original of *mīra* (1) is which does not scan.

70. L. T.

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( vi )

ای فاله گوت دمیست اظهاری کن و آن غافل مدت را خبوداری کن  
ای دست معجبت ، ولات بدر ۴ وای باطن شرع مصطفی کاری کن

( ۴۷ )

اوقاده بهم بگوشه بیهوده حمزه  
عهای جهان مونس غمخانه من  
با رب تو بفضل خوبیش دندان صرا  
بغشای بودج حضرت ویس قرن

( ۷۵ )

با رب و قدساعدم توان گو گردان  
احوال من سو خلقه سو گردان

( ۶۴ )

رویت دریای حسن و لعات مرجان  
دلفت عنبر صدف دهان دز دیدان  
گوداب بلا غمگیر و چشم طوفان  
ایرو کشتنی و چین بیشانی موج

( v - )

قالل تو دلله روز خواهد بودن  
کارم همه آه و سوز خواهد بودن  
گفتی که بخانه تو آیم روزی  
آن روز کدام روز خواهد بودن

( ۷۴ )

ای خالق ذوالجلال وی رحمن تو سامان ده کار بی سر و سامان تو  
خصمان عرا مطیع من گردان تو بیروحان وا رحیم من گردان تو

( ۷۷ )

شیهای دراز ای دریغا بی تو  
دردی و فراق ای دریغا بی تو  
تو خفته بذاز ای دریغا بی تو  
من در قب و قاب ای دریغا بی تو

71. H. T. دستیت in line 1 comes from T. H. has دلیت.

71. H. T.  
 72. H. T.  
 73. L. E.  
 74. H.  
 75. H.  
 76. H. T.  
 77. H.

( ۷۸ )

سودای سو بی سرو ساهمان یک سو  
بی مهربی چوخ دور گردان یک حم  
اندیشند خاطر پوشان یک سو  
اینها همه یک سو غم جانان یک سو

( ۷۹ )

ای دل چو فراق یار دیدی خون شو  
وی دیده موافقت بکن جیهون شو  
ای جان تو عزیز تو نی از بارم  
بی یار نخواهتم ز قن بید وون خو

( ۸۰ )

من کیستم آتش بدل افروختند  
بر خون من عشق چشم خود دوخته  
در راه وفا چو سذگ و آتش گردم  
شاید که رسم بصعبت سوختند

( ۸۱ )

ای چشم تو چشم چشم همه  
ای چشم تو نور نیست در چشم همه  
چشم همه را نظر بسوی تو اود  
از چشم تو چشم هاست در چشم همه

( ۸۲ )

پاکی و صدیقه و بی همای  
کس را نبود ملک باین زیبایی  
خلاقان همه خفته اند خود آگاهی  
را رب تو در لطف بما بکشای

( ۸۳ )

ای خالق ذوالجلال ای یار خدای  
تا چند روم در بدر و جای بجای  
با خازن امید مردا در برند  
با قفل مهنهات صرا در بکشای

( ۸۴ )

با رکشی عدو را سرو کویی  
با خار و خسی زماده را جارویی  
نگرفت دلم ازین خیان با رب  
حشوی نشوی قیامه‌تی آشوبی

( ۸۰ )

در آوی خودم مسکن و معاوا دادی      در بزم وصال خود هرا جا دادی  
 القصه بصد کوشمه و فاز صرا      عاتق کردي و سر بصعده را دادی

( ۸۴ )

ای شاه ولایت دو عالم مددی      بر عجز و پوشانی حالم مددی  
 ای شهرو خدا زود مفرویادم رس      جز حضوت تو پیش که نالم مددی

( ۸۷ )

با فاقه و فقر همنشینم کردي      معحتاج بیک نان شبینم کردي  
 این صرتیحه مقرران در قست      با رب بجه خدمت این چندیم کردي

( ۸۸ )

با گسودن روزگار را زنجیری      یا سر کشی زمانه را تدیسوی  
 این فاعوشان بدی پویند بلند      سنگی چوبی گزی تفگی نیری

( ۸۹ )

منگام سفیده دم خروس سعوی      دانی که چرا همی کند نوحه گری  
 یعنی که نمودند در آئینه صبیم      کفر عمر شبی گدشت و تو بیخبری

( ۹۰ )

نآزار دلبرا که تو جانش باشی      معشوقه بیدا و فهانش باشی  
 زان صیغه سرم که از دل ازای تو      دل خون شود و تو درمیانش باشی

85. H. R. E.

86. H.

87. H. E. I have also found this quatrain in a collection of Ansári's *ruba'iyyát*.

88. H. Line 2 has تدبیری . بدسری is an obvious emendation.

89. L. T. This is No. 463 of Whinfield's *Omar Khayyám*. It is one of the so-called "Wandering quatrains"—that is to say, the quatrains, 82 in number, which Zhukovski found "wandering" through various dicsans and anthologies, acknowledging no definite authorship. (See J.R.A.S. 1908).90. H. A. E. The readings differ. I have adopted that of the *Atishkada*.

( ۹۱ )

ای شیر خدا امپر حیدر فتحی  
درهای اهیلد بر رخم بسته شده ای صاحب ذوقفار و فنبر فتحی

( ۹۲ )

ای آنکه قودرد در دهستان داسی درمان و علاج مقدمدان دانی  
حال دل خویش را چه گویم ناتو ناگفته تو صد هزار چندان دانی

( ۹۳ )

آنی تو که حال خسته حلال دانی احوال دل شکسته بالان دانی  
ور خوانمت از سینه سوزان شنوی وردم سونم زبان للان دانی

( ۹۴ )

گو در یمنی چه نامی پیش مدنی اور پیش منی چه بی منی در یمنی  
من ناتو چنانم ای نگار امنی خود در غلطمن که من تو ام ناتو منی

( ۹۵ )

با رب در خلق تکیه گاه م نکنی معناج گدا و بادشاهم نکنی  
موی سیده ام سفید گودی نکرم نا مهی سفید و سیاهم نکنی

( ۹۶ )

از سادگی و سلیمانی و مکیدی و از سرگشی و نکسر و خود بیانی  
بر آتش اگر شانیم باشیم اور دیده اگر نشانمت نه نشینی

( ۹۷ )

حقائی اگر چو مرغ پر داشتمی روزی ز تو صد بار خبر داشتمی  
این واقعه ام اگر بودی در پیش کی دیده ز دیدار تو سرداشتمی

91. H. T.

92. H.

93. H. A. T.

94. L. T.

95. H.

96. H. Metrically incorrect.

97. H.

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( ۹۸ )

دردی داریم و سینه بسریانی عشقی داریم و دیده گریانی  
عشقی چه عشق عشق عالم سوزی دردی چه درد درد بی درمانی

98. H.

( مطبوعه پذیرت صیغن پرسن کلکته )

15. Notes on the Pollination of Flowers in India.—  
Note No. 8, *Miscellanea.*

By I. H. BURKILL.

Into my Indian diary many unpublished observations on flower pollination have been written, which I propose now to set out by way of concluding this series of notes.<sup>1</sup> The dates of the observations and the place will be given in every case that others may test seasonal and climatic departures in the behaviour of both flowers and visitors.

*Birds visiting flowers.*

The late D. D. Cunningham in his "*Some Indian Friends and Acquaintances*" (London, 1903), p. 129, records that the common Honeysucker—*Arachnechthra zeylonica*—is a frequent visitor in Calcutta to the flower of *Hamelia patens*, Jacq., going from blossom to blossom, its long bill dusted with the pollen. He repeated this statement in his "*Plagues and Pleasures of Life in Bengal*" (London, 1907), pp. 23 and 275. In the first book (p. 130), he adds that the birds also visit *Haematocephala Hodgsoni*, meaning *Calliandra haematocephala*, Hassk.,<sup>2</sup> *Hibiscus rosa-sinensis*, Linn., and *Erythrina*, in the second book (p. 275) that they visit *Duranta*.

This same little bird has been seen by me also on the flowers of *Hibiscus rosa-sinensis*, Linn., and on those of *Russelia juncea*, Jacq., at Pusa, Tirhut (3-viii-07). To the latter it paid particular attention.

Again I have a letter (dated Cawnpur, 1-x-07) from Mr. H. Martin Leake, in which he writes that he had frequently seen it on cotton flowers—*Gossypium*—visiting flower after flower,

<sup>1</sup> No. 1. The pollination of *Thunbergia grandiflora*, Roxb. in Calcutta. Journal, ii, 1906, pp. 511-514.

No. 2. The pollination of *Cocchorus* in Bengal and Assam. Journal, ii, 1906, pp. 515-520.

No. 3. The mechanism of six flowers of the North-West Himalaya. Journal, ii, 1906, pp. 521-525.

No. 4. On cotton in Behar. Journal, iii, 1907, pp. 517-526.

No. 5. Some autumn observations in the Sikkim Himalaya. Journal, iv, 1908, pp. 179-195.

No. 6. The spring flora of the Simla Hills. Journal, iv, 1908, pp. 197-231.

No. 7. A few observations made in the Central Provinces and Berar. Journal, vi, 1910, pp. 101-107.

<sup>2</sup> Knuth observed a honey-bird visiting this flower in Java, as well as several large bees and a butterfly (*Handbuch der Blütenbiologie*, iii, part 1, p. 352).

hanging on to the stem if the flower faced laterally or was pendent, but never resting its whole weight, its wings all the time in motion.

Another bird, the Purple Honeysucker, *Arachnechthra asiatica*, is the more common species in drier parts of India, and has been seen by me on the flowers of the orange,—*Citrus Aurantium*, Linn.,—and the Hollyhock—*Althaea rosea*, Cav.—in Lahore (16-iv-07).

Three of the above plants—*Erythrina*, *Russelia*, and the orange—may be stated to have in common one special adaptation for attracting birds to their flowers, namely their excessively abundant honey. The others are not so specialised, and are to be classed rather as bee-flowers, under which head some will be referred to again.

An obvious bird-flower, but to which no bird-visits have been recorded, is *Mezoneurum cucullatum*, W. and A. Its blossoms

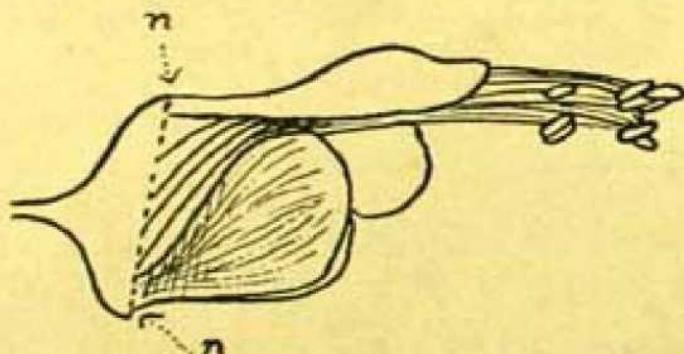


FIG. 1.—Flower of *Mezoneurum cucullatum* × 2. two sepals and one petal having been removed to show the wide nectary which extends from *n* to *n*. The figure also shows the absence of a landing stage for insects.

contain an extraordinary amount of honey, just as do those of *Erythrina*; and they are so constructed as to afford but a poor foothold; such we know is not required by the honeybirds, nor by the similar humming birds of America. The annexed figure shows the extensive nectary and the small size of the lower parts of the flower. Many flowers are mature together; and when open the bees, *Apis indica*, F. (Pursua, Nepal terai, 26-xi-07; Bhainsa Duhan, Nepal, 1-xii-07) and *Apis florea*, F. (Kobo, Upper Assam, 5-xii-11) flock to them, the latter collecting pollen as well as taking accessible honey.

*Momordica cochinchinensis*, Spreng, also appears to be a bird-flower. The sexes are separated, so that an external agent is required to bring about fertilisation. The visitors find an abundance of honey in the rather large slipper-like boxes within the floor of flower, each covered by a lid. Nearly the whole of the bottom of these boxes is a rounded orange-coloured

nectary. The same orange colour marks the position of the box on the outside, the other parts of the base of the flower being grey. At Dinajpur (14-viii-09) where these observations were made, there had been formed an abundance of fruit. Two *Calliphora* flies were seen in the flowers.

*Sphingid-flowers.*

*Datura fastuosa*, Linn., is certainly a Sphingid-flower; but, as it persists through the day, other insects may visit it. Its

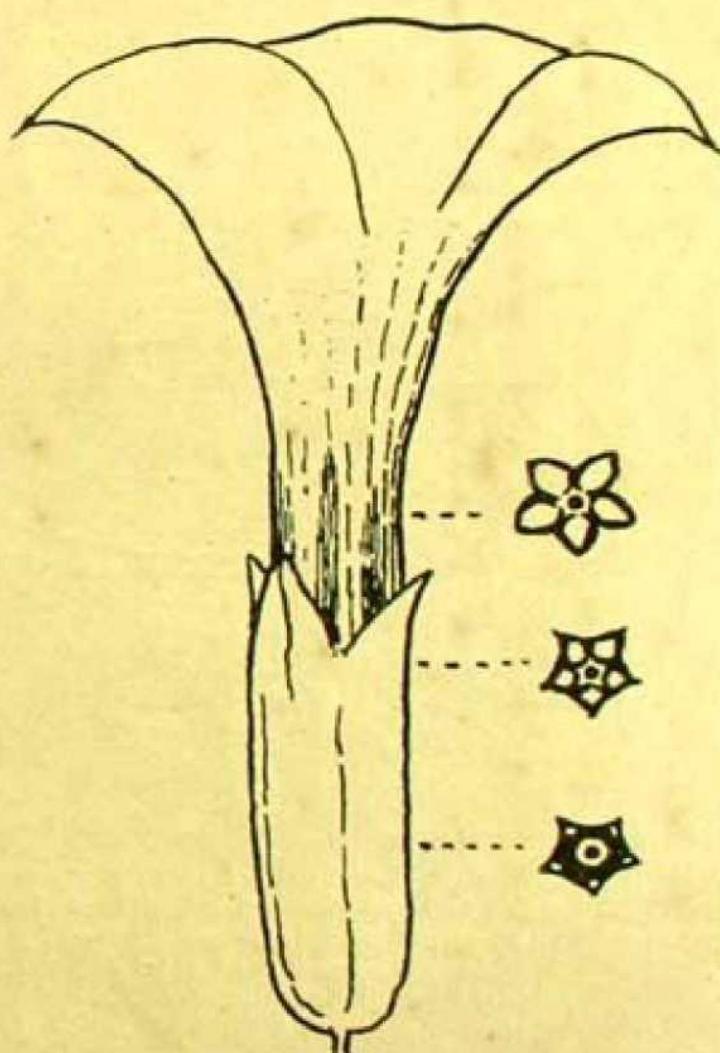


FIG. 2.—Flower of *Datura fastuosa*, reduced to  $\frac{1}{2}$  nat. size, with sections indicating the nature of the deep pits containing the honey.

large flowers open at nightfall, and last for 20—24 hours. When they open, the anthers have already dehisced; these and the stigma lie a little below the level of the mouth of the corolla. Honey is plentiful in the lower part of five gradually contracted channels made by the adhesion of the filaments to the corolla. The figures on the preceding page show their nature and size.

The smell of the flowers is peculiar. In Calcutta (3-ix-01) an individual *Anthophora zonata*, Linn., was seen to settle on the anthers, to leave and return, to repeat this several times, and then to run down the tube, but to dart from the flower immediately in a great hurry as if the smell within forbade nearer approach. *D. fastuosa* fruits freely<sup>1</sup> and doubtless receives suitable visits.

*Datura Stramonium*, Linn., opens at the same time as *D. fastuosa* (Belgaum, 13-xi-08).

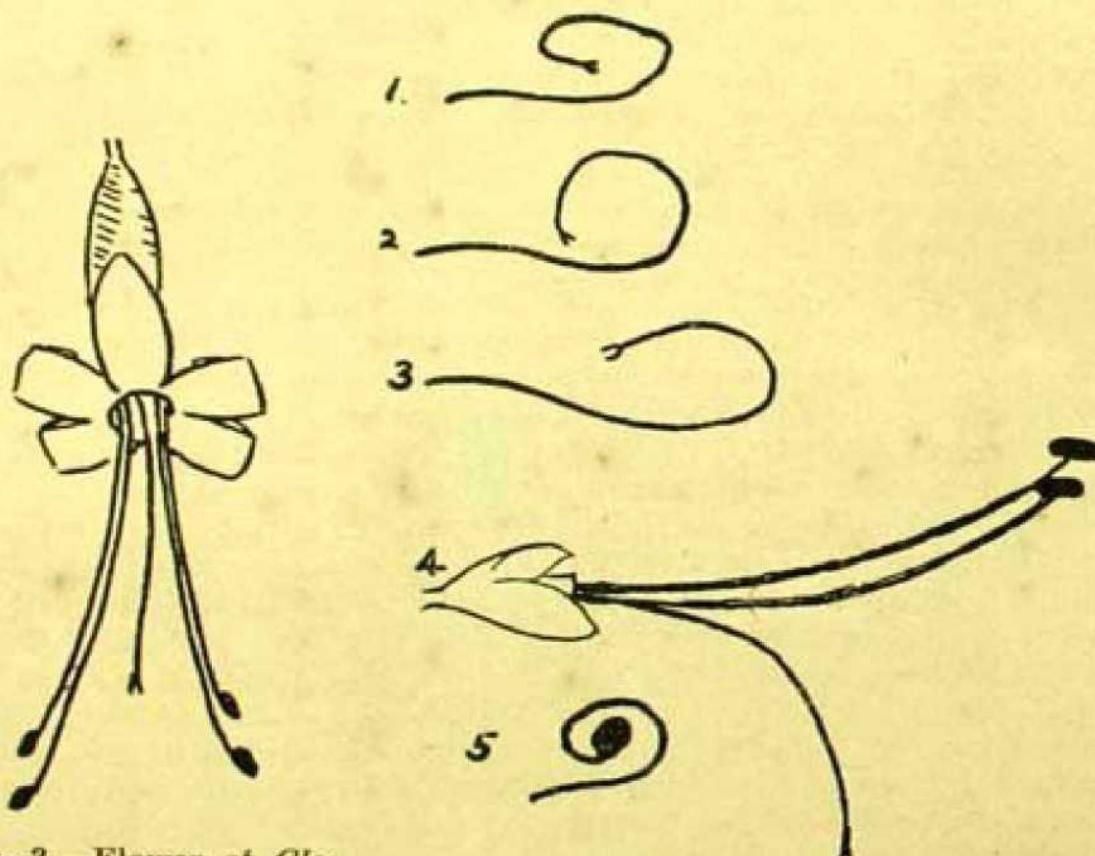


FIG. 3.—Flower of *Clerodendron infortunatum* from above. Nat. size.

FIG. 4.—Nos. 1-4 indicate successive stages in the movement of the style: in the just-opening bud it is as in No. 1; then it moves through Nos. 2 and 3 to 4. In the just-opening bud, the stamens are as No. 5; then they move to stand as in No. 4. Nat. size.

*Clerodendron infortunatum*, Gaertn., begins to open its flowers at 7 p.m.; and the process continues into the night. It too has flowers open by day, for their duration is 36 hours or more. Before the corolla-lobes part, the filaments and style

<sup>1</sup> The American *Datura arborea*, Linn., seems to obtain no suitable visits in parts of the Pacific: Crosby recorded (Journ. Linn. Soc. Bot., xxxv, p. 49) that it never fruits in the Friendly Islands, and Hillebrand (*Flora of the Hawaiian Islands*, 1888, p. 311) that it rarely fruits in the Sandwich Islands.

lie curved: but no sooner does liberation occur than they commence slowly to uncurve, and to move the anthers or stigma to their appropriate places. The process of the uncurling of the stigma is represented in Figure 4 and the resulting position in relation to the anthers, vertically as well as laterally, is indicated if it be considered together with Figure 3, which is the flower from above.

Towards the twenty-fourth hour the style carries the stigma upwards to a position straight in front of the corolla, at the level first assumed by the anthers, and the filaments curve down and roll up loosely on themselves. The tube is 20 mm. long: and the anthers were found to be removed from its mouth by 35—45 mm. in specimens observed at Moulmein (22-ii to 3-iii-04).

The stigma at opening is thrust out beyond the anthers in *Clerodendron serratum*, Spreng. (Belgaum, 14-xi-02).

Differing from the above three flowers in not persisting at all by day is *Trichosanthes palmata*, Roxb.; for its corollas fall very soon after dawn; but on the other hand those of its congener—*T. cucumerina*, Linn.—persist through the day (Nattor, 26-viii-07; Asirgarh, 26-ix-09). Like *T. palmata*, *Gymnopetalum cochinchinense*, Kurz, drops its corolla soon after dawn (Maynaguri, N. Bengal, 27-viii-08): its flowers are very fragrant: but as its corolla is constructed so as to afford a good foothold, and its tube is relatively short, it is rather to be classed as a moth-flower than as a sphingid-flower. Yet another white-flowered Cucurbit—*Cephalandra indica*, Naud., is a bee-flower; but its bell-shaped white flowers, which are visited by *Anthophora zonata* diligently and also by another Apiid for the sake of honey (Calcutta, 18-viii-01 and 15-ix-01) are rather too small for the large Xylocopas.

#### *Butterfly Flowers.*

Narrow-tubed, upright flowers which afford to their visitors platforms facing the sky are usually suited for the visits of butterflies. The common introduced *Lantana Camara*, Linn., is a particularly good instance of this: for though many rather small flowers stand together, they make an even platform such as a settling butterfly prefers,—a platform where its large wings find ample space. Knuth (*Handbuch der Blütenbiologie*, III, part 2, p. 71) has observed that in Java butterflies are exceeding numerous on this plant.

Two Lycaenids, three Papilios, a Terias and a Hesperid have been recorded by me as visitors to the flowers on 21-vii and 2-viii-01 near Calcutta.

*Phlox Drummondii*, Hook., and *Verbena hybrida*, a garden hybrid, are two cultivated plants on the flowers of which *Plusia*

*chrysitis*, L., was seen in great numbers (Lahore, 26-iv-07), and a butterfly was also seen on the first named.

*Plumbago capensis*, Thunb., was visited in a garden in Calcutta (25-x-07) by Sphingids.

In the sixth of this series of papers, I classed *Calotropis procera*, R. Br., as a butterfly-flower on account of its flat corymbiform inflorescence; but further evidence shows it to be bee-flower.

Mussaendas are truly butterfly-flowers and have an appropriate name in Burmese exactly meaning this; but a *Bombus* and a Bombylid fly happen to be the only insect visitors recorded in my notes to *Mussaenda Roxburghii*, Hook. f. Both were visiting for honey (Pedong, Sikkim Himalaya, 6-vi-09, and Dentam 23-v-09).

*Compositae and some other massed flowers with hidden honey,  
whose upright heads are suited for butterflies, etc.*

The Compositae vary as regards visitors through wide limits, some even being bird-fertilised, e.g. the Mutisias of South America, but most of the plains' species of India are little specialised. Some Dipsaceae are best classified with the Compositae.

The reader will find lists of visitors to species in the Simla Hills in Note No. 6, to species in the Sikkim Hills in Note No. 5, and to one further species in Note No. 7. The following are additional observations.

*Ageratum conyzoides*, Linn. DIPTERA. SYRPHIDAE. (1) *Syrphus balteatus*, Deg. Naxalbari, Darjeeling terai, 24-i-11, and Bagdogra, 15-ii-11. LEPIDOPTERA. GEOMETRES. (2) one species, Natran, N. Arakan, 7-i-07.

*Anaphalis cinnamomea*, Clarke. DIPTERA. SYRPHIDAE. Many individuals of two or three species, Sinchul, Darjeeling, 19-ix-09.

*Dipsacus inermis*, Wall. LEPIDOPTERA. RHOPALOCERA. *Vanessa urticae*, L., twice sucking honey, Sisagarhi, Nepal, 2-xii-07.

*Tridax procumbens*, Linn. LEPIDOPTERA. RHOPALOCERA. Many individuals of several species, Chalsa, Duars, 25-viii-07.

*Vernonia cinerea*, Less. LEPIDOPTERA. RHOPALOCERA. *Lycaena* sp. Jainagar, Nepal border, 29-xi-07.

*Vicoa cernua*, Dalz. HYMENOPTERA. ACULEATA. *Tetranonia Duvaucelii*, Lep. Chanseli pass, W. Ghats, 2 and 7-x-09.

*Bee-flowers of considerable specialisation.*

In the first of these notes it was shown that *Thunbergia grandiflora*, Roxb., is very specially fitted for receiving the visits of the largest of the Indian boring bees—*Xylocopa latipes*, F., and is pollinated by it in Calcutta. Since that note was published I have seen *X. latipes* on the flowers in other places, e.g. Damdim, Duars (21-viii-07); Bombay and Bassein (26-viii-02): and in Singapore it is a very regular visitor. Though fruiting is rare in Calcutta for some reason not explained, ripe fruits have been seen there as well as in several other places.

Other visitors to the flowers which have been observed, are as follows:—HYMENOPTERA. ACULEATA. *X. aestuans*, Lep., Calcutta, 9-ix-07, and *X. flavonigrescens*, Sm., Calcutta, (12-ix-07). LEPIDOPTERA. RHOPALOCERA. One species, Damdim, 21-viii-07. DIPTERA. MUSCIDAE. *Calliphora* sp. feeding on pollen, Gauhati, 12-viii-09, and Goalpara, 3-ix-06.

*Curcuma Amada*, Roxb., has a flower into which *Xylocopa* creeps, as into those of *Thunbergia grandiflora*: and a species of this genus of bees as well as *Anthophora zonata*, and a third smaller Hymenopteron were observed visiting the blossoms at Dacca (7-v-11). The *Xylocopa* had to use force to make its entry into the throat of the flowers and came out of each copiously dusted with pollen.

Of very different appearance to the last two flowers are those of the genera *Cassia* and *Melastoma*, but the larger are equally dependent on the *Xylocopas* for pollination.

*Xylocopa aestuans* is a frequent visitor to them. It has been seen on *Cassia occidentalis*, Linn., in Calcutta (18-viii-01, 15-ix-01, 30-ix-01), whose flowers expand just before dawn, and close after dusk. On the flowers of *Cassia Sophera*, Linn., which also close after dusk, have been seen *Xylocopa latipes*, F. (Nattor, 26-viii-07), *X. aestuans* (Calcutta, 30-ix-01; Nattor, 26-viii-07; and *Anthophora zonata* (Calcutta, 30-ix-01). On the flowers of *Cassia Tora*, Liun., have been seen *Xylocopa latipes* (Maynaguri, N. Bengal, 23-viii-08), *X. aestuans* (Gauhati, 9-viii-07; Dipu, Duars, 15-viii-06) and unrecognised species of the genus (Pachuria, Central Bengal, 30-viii-07; Kothar under the Akrani Plateau, 1-x-09).

*Melastoma malabathricum*, Linn., has been seen visited by *Xylocopa ? latipes*. (Korokpi, south of Amherst, 11 and 12-iii-08) and *X. aestuans* (Moulmein, 23-ii-08; Jalpaiguri, 5-viii-08). *X. latipes* is an insect which visits it also in Singapore.

*Osbeckia crinita*, Benth., has been seen visited by *Xylocopa latipes* at Sadiya, Upper Assam (25-viii-09).

In settling on *Cassias* and *Melastomas* the insects use the

stamens which they draw together, and having settled, as there is no honey, they collect pollen. The Cassias do not possess any hollows which promise honey, but *Melastoma malabathricum* possesses ten short dry tubes round the ovary in which the visiting bees may at times seek honey. On the other hand the Cassias have extrafloral nectaries which will be referred to again at a later place.

Both Cassias and Melastomas have received a considerable amount of attention from botanists who have visited the Dutch Indies. All unite in recognising the genera as containing specialised bee-flowers. Knuth, who particularly studied them (vide his *Handbuch der Blütenbiologie*, the posthumous volume iii, compiled by E. Loew, part 1, pp. 369-386) recorded that, in the Buitenzorg Gardens, Xylocopas are the fertilising agents of

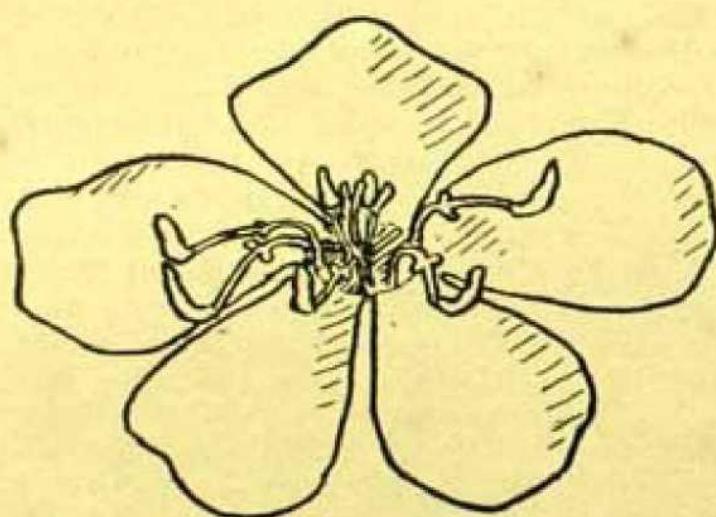


FIG. 5.—Flower of *Melastoma malabathricum*, Nat. size, showing the two kinds of stamens, the longer five of which serve as a landing place.

various Cassias, other insects attracted being the bees *Podaliarius zonatus* and *Megachile opposita*. Burck (*Annales du Jardin Botanique de Buitenzorg*, VI, 1887, pp. 256-265) and Mrs. Nieuwenhuis von Uexkull have made similar observations in the same Garden.

Forbes in 1888 (*Nature*, xxvi, p. 536, quoted from Kunth, l. c., p. 538), named *Xylocopa* as a visitor to a *Melastoma* in Sumatra and in his *Naturalist's Wanderings in the Eastern Archipelago* (London, 1885, p. 228) says that *Bombus senex* was observed on a pink *Melastoma* in the Mountains of Palembang.

*Melipona* bees are common on the flower of *Melastoma malabathricum* in Tenasserim, collecting pollen (Moulmein, 27-ii-04; 23-ii-08; Amherst, 11 and 16-iii-08) and once another Apiid was seen (Moulmein, 8-iii-08). The flowers open at about 7 a.m. and close about 4 p.m.

*Passiflora foetida*, Linn., which is freely visited by *Xylocopa aestuans*, has its flowers open for still shorter hours than the preceding species; they expand before dawn and may wither as early as 9 a.m., all the stigmas having been pollinated (Calcutta, 13-viii-01). *Anthophora zonata* (Calcutta, 13-ix-01) and a skipper, *Theckla* sp. (Calcutta, 11-viii-01) were observed also to suck honey, but not to move all round the flower as *X. aestuans* does.

Petch in the *Annals of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Peradeniya* (v, 1914, p. 538) has remarked that *Xylocopa* pollinates *Calotropis* in those Gardens. Similarly *X. latipes* has been seen by me on *Calotropis procera*, R. Br., at Jajpur, Orissa (27-viii-06), *X. aestuans* at Bankipur (1-vi-07), and undetermined species of *Xylocopa* at Pachuria, Central Bengal (30-viii-04), and Bilaspur in the Sutlej Valley (13-v-06). In addition *Elis thoracica*, F., a Hymenopteron, has been seen on flowers at Arrah (8-vi-07), and a *Sphex* at Dalsing Sarai, Tirhut (20-v-07); and at Patiala in the Panjab I caught *Polistes hebraeus*, F., (22 iv-07) with seven pollinia adhering to its tarsi in such positions that its efforts at removing them with its mandibles were unsuccessful. An individual of *Elis thoracica* caught at Arrah had the tarsi of the fore and mid legs covered with the pollinia.

The flowers have been observed to open at various hours from 10 a.m. to midday (Myingyan, 12 to 15-ii-04) but it may be that they also open at other times.

*Daemia extensa*, R. Br., another Asclepiad, but differing from *Calotropis* markedly in possessing pendulous flowers, has been seen to be visited by *Papilio polytes*, L., (Jamod, 25-ix-09). But visitors more efficient than butterflies should be sought.

*Xylocopas* visit some of the larger Crotalariae well. They have been seen in great numbers on the flowers of *Crotalaria juncea*, Linn., thus—*Xylocopa latipes* at Kyauktaw, Arakan (7-i-07); *X. aestuans* at Barnes junction (6-viii-07); *X. ? fenestrata* at the same place (6-viii-07); and *X. spp.* near Calcutta (1-ix-01).

On *Crotalaria striata*, DC., has been seen *X. aestuans* at Barnes junction, *X. ? fenestrata*, F., at Barnes junction (6-viii-07), and *X. sp.* at Poradaha, Central Bengal (11-viii-07). *X. aestuans* has been seen also on the flowers near Tampin in the Malay Peninsula (23-viii-14).

Petch says (l.c.) that *Xylocopa* visits *Crotalaria Walkeri*, Arn., at Hakgala, Ceylon.

Other visitors also go to the flowers, and I have recorded a Bombylid on those of *C. juncea* (Calcutta, 1-ix-01), and a Vespid on those of *Crotalaria hirta*, Willd. (Kasod, Berar, 17-ix-09).

The flowers of *Crotalaria medicaginea*, Lamk., open after 6.30 a.m. and close at nightfall (Kasod, 17 to 18-ix-09), and those of *Crotalaria calycina*, Schrank, close at sunset (Chitowni, Tirhut-Nepal Border, 19-xi-07).

*Phaseolus calcaratus*, Roxb., was seen visited by *Xylocopa aestuans* for honey (Dalsing Sarai, Tirhut, 29-v-07), and *Phaseolus trilobus* Ait., by an undetermined *Xylocopa* and also by another Apiid (Parlakimedi, Circars, 15-ix-02).

An insect like *Xylocopa* would seem the most probable one of service to *Cliterea Ternatea*, Linn., especially as *X. latipes* is a very frequent visitor to the similar *Centrosema Plumieri*, Benth., in Singapore. The big landing stage, which these two upside-down Leguminosae afford, is peculiar and is a specialisation which would appear more appropriate to a butterfly-flower than to a bee-flower, were it not that such strength as butterflies do not possess, is necessary to force a way under the keel. A butterfly was seen at the flowers (Calcutta, 22-ix-01).

*Caesalpinia Bonducelia*, Fleming, at Gauripur, Mymensing (9-viii-07), and *Connarus paniculatus*, Roxb. on Bilugyan, Moulmein (3-iii-04) were noticed freely visited by *Xylocopa aestuans*.

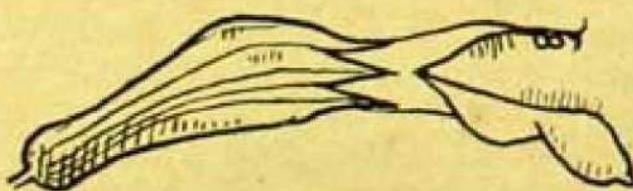


FIG. 6.—Flower of *Anisomeles ovata*.

*Anisomeles ovata*, R. Br., one of the Labiateæ which is widely spread over the plains of India, seems largely to depend on this same insect. Its flowers have a fair supply of honey protected from unwelcome visitors by a ring of hairs 3 mm. from the base of the flower-tube at the point where the stamens are inserted. The tube is about 5—6 mm. long; and the stamens project from it and beyond the meagre upper lip, the anthers lying over the alighting place of the lower lip, with the stigma just beyond them, at about 15 mm distance from the base of the flower. *Xylocopa latipes*, *X. aestuans*, *Anthophora zonata*, *Apis indica* and another Apiid as well as two species of Lepidoptera—a *Papilio* and a Hesperid—have been seen on the flowers in Calcutta (26—27-x-01). The second of the bees always carries abundant pollen as it visits.

*Xylocopa* visits the flowers of *Luffa acutangula*, Roxb., in Behar (Barh, 6-vi-07); and a Sphingid was seen on them at Anand, Gujarat (1-xi-02).

*Ipomoea rubrocoerulea*, Hook., has fairly plentiful honey in a tube 9 mm. deep, for which *Anthophora zonata* visits in Calcutta (8—15-ix-01). One of the five stamens equals the style; so that its anther may possibly pollinate the stigma. *Anthophora zonata*, in visiting the flower, settles on the sexual organs and scatters the pollen so that it may be found on the corolla after a visit.

*Ipomoea paniculata*, R. Br., was seen visited by *Xylocopa aestuans* persistently for honey (Calcutta, 29-vii-07, and near Bombay, 19-ix-08). *Xylocopas* are recorded as biting through *Ipomoea* flowers in Singapore and Java (Ridley in Journ. Roy. As. Soc., Straits Branch, No. 34, p. 229, and Kunth, Handbuch d. Blütenbiologie, III. part 2, p. 53); but in a general way these showy members of the genus appear suited better for their visits than for those of other insects.

*X. latipes* has been observed to rob *Torenia Fournieri*, Linden., of its honey by biting through the corolla-tube just above the calyx (Calcutta, 13-ix-01).

It will be useful, before proceeding, to enumerate the flowers upon which *Xylocopas* have been seen: they are:—

- Dillenia indica*, Linn. See below.
- Gynandropsis pentaphylla*, DC. See below.
- Gossypium neglectum*, Tod; and
- G. intermedium*., Tod. Note No. 4.
- Malachra capitata*, Linn. See below.
- Corchorus capsularis*, Linn. See Note No. 2.
- Corchorus olitorius*, Linn. See Note No. 2.
- Connarus paniculata*, Roxb. See above.
- Crotalaria juncea*, Linn. See above.
- Crotalaria striata*, DC. See above.
- Crotalaria albida*, Heyne. See Note No. 7.
- Sesbania aculeata*. Pers. See below.
- Caesalpinia Bonducella*, Fleming. See above.
- Cassia occidentalis*, Linn. See above.
- Cassia Sophera*, Linn. See above.
- Cassia Tora*, Linn. See above.
- Lathyrus odoratus*, Linn. See Note No. 6.
- Phaseolus calcaratus*, Roxb. See above.
- Phaseolus trilobus*, Ait. See above.
- Acacia arabica*, Willd. See below.
- Rosa moschata*, Mill. See Note No. 6.
- Melastoma malabathricum*, Linn. See above.
- Osbeckia crinita*, Benth. See above.

- Oenothera rosea*, Sol. See Note No. 6.  
*Passiflora foetida*, Linn. See above.  
*Luffa acutangula*, Roxb. See above.  
*Zinnia elegans*, Jacq. See Note No. 7.  
*Gerbera lanuginosa*, Benth. See Note No. 6.  
*Cnicus argyracanthus*, C.B. Clarke. See Note No. 6.  
*Calotropis procera*, R. Br. See Note No. 6 and above.  
*Ipomoea paniculata*, R. Br. See above.  
*Solanum xanthocarpum*, Schrad. and Wendl. See Note 6.  
*Sopubia delphinifolia*, G. Don. See Note No. 7.  
*Justicia Gendarussa*, Linn., F. See below.  
*Adhatoda Vasica*, Nees. See Notes Nos. 3 and 6.  
*Thunbergia grandiflora*, Roxb. See Note No. 1 and above.  
*Caryopteris Wallichiana*, Schau. See Note No. 6.  
*Leucas linifolia*, Spreng. See below.  
*Anisomeles ovata*, R. Br. See Note No. 7 and above.  
*Celosia cristata*, Linn. See Note No. 7.  
*Antigonon leptopus*, Endl. See below.  
*Curcuma Amada*, Roxb. See above.

The greatest heights, at which Xylocopas have been observed by me, are 7,000 ft. in Simla (14 and 15-v-11) and 6,000 ft. at Kasauli (11-v-07). They seem to hibernate for a very short period in Calcutta, or at any rate to have restricted working hours about the commencement of the year; and probably to hibernate for longer periods where it is colder: but in Akyab I found no hibernation. Generally the common species, such as *X. latipes* and *X. aestuans*, commence their day's work at 6 a.m. and cease at nightfall; but there are rarer species at least in Burma which work on moonlight nights. In the lower parts of the Himalaya their distribution overlaps that of some species of *Bombus*, e.g. *B. haemorrhoialis* (vide Note No. 6, p. 230); upwards they gradually give place to them.

I have observed and recorded the visits of Bombi in the Simla-Himalaya to the following plants:—

<i>Papaver somniferum</i> , Linn.	<i>Lactuca Heyneana</i> , DC.
<i>Viola serpens</i> , Wall	<i>Pieris ovalifolia</i> , D. Don.
<i>Sarothamnus scoparius</i> , Koch.	<i>Carissa spinarum</i> , A. DC.
<i>Rosa moschata</i> , Mill.	<i>Buddleia paniculata</i> , Wall.
<i>Pyrus Pashia</i> , Buch.-Ham.	<i>Gentiana argentea</i> , Royle,
<i>Punica Granatum</i> , Linn.	<i>Evolvulus alsinoides</i> , Wall.
<i>Viburnum foetens</i> , Decane.	<i>Celsia coromandeliana</i> , Vahl.
<i>Lonicera angustifolia</i> , Wall.	<i>Salvia lanata</i> , Roxb.
<i>Cnicus argyracanthus</i> , C. B. Clarke.	<i>Scutellaria linearis</i> , Benth.
<i>Taraxacum officinale</i> , Wigg.	<i>Roylea elegans</i> , Wall.
<i>Launaea nudicaulis</i> , Hook. f.	<i>Duranta Plumieri</i> , Jacq.

To these I have now to add *Aesculus Hippocastanum*, Linn. (Simla, 12-v-09).

As was pointed out on p. 236 of Note No 6, *Punica Granatum*, *Rosa moschata*, and the Labiates such as *Roylea elegans* are visited by *Bombus haemorrhoidalis*; while at higher levels *Lonicera angustifolia* and *Viburnum foetens*, and perhaps other horizontal or pendulous flowers, depend for fertilisation on *Bombus tunicatus*. Under date of 17-vi-07, Mr. C. E. C. Fischer was so good as to communicate to me a statement that the latter *Bombus* particularly affects *Salvia lanata*, Roxb., in Jaunsar.

*Salvia fulgens*, Cav., in Darjeeling Gardens is robbed of its honey by a *Bombus* which there constantly bites through the corolla tube (25-ix-09); but it is pollinated freely by *Apis mellifica* which approaches the corolla-tube from the front (14-x-04; 25-ix-09). The same *Bombus* goes to the flowers of *Tropaeolum majus*, Linn., in great numbers (14-x-04; 25-ix-09). On *Digitalis purpurea*, Linn., also in gardens, *Bombus eximius* works diligently even in light rain (Darjeeling, 13 and 14-vi-09; and Lopchu, Darjeeling Himalaya, 9-vi-09).

In Note No. 5, I recorded further visits of Bombi in the Sikkim Himalaya thus, to :—

<i>Aconitum spicatum</i> , Staph.	<i>Saussurea uniflora</i> , Wall.
<i>Aconitum heterophyllumoides</i> , Staph.	<i>Senecio diversifolius</i> , Wall.
<i>Corydalis chaerophyllea</i> , DC.	<i>Cnicus involucratus</i> , DC.
<i>Impatiens bicornuta</i> , Wall.	<i>Strobilanthes pentstemonoides</i> , T. Anders.
<i>Impatiens asymmetrica</i> , Hook. f.	<i>Crawfurdia speciosa</i> , C. B. Clarke.
<i>Impatiens Gagei</i> , Hook. f.	<i>Elscholtzia strobilifera</i> , Benth.
<i>Polygonum amplexicaule</i> , D. Don,	

Unidentified Bombi have been observed since that Note was published to visit the following wild flowers, in the same mountains :—

<i>Saurauja nepaulensis</i> , DC. . .	Pedong, 6-vi-09
<i>Piptanthus nepaulensis</i> , D. Don . . .	Chiabanjan, 22-v-09.
<i>Mussaenda Roxburghii</i> , Hook. f. . .	Pedong, 6-vi-09.
<i>Rhododendron cinnabarinum</i> , Hook. f. . .	Chiabanjan, 22-v-09.
<i>Ellettaria Cardamomum</i> , Maton . . .	Pedong, 6-vi-09.

I have seen the visits of Bombi in the Nepal Himalaya to :—

<i>Clematis grewiaeifolia</i> , DC. . .	Sisagarhi, 2-xii-07.
<i>Prunus Puddum</i> , Roxb. . .	Chitlong, 3-xii-07.
<i>Lindenbergia grandiflora</i> , Benth. . .	Bhainsa Duhan, 14-xii-07.
<i>Elaeagnus latifolia</i> , Linn. . .	Patan, 15-xii-07.

on the last named with particular diligence and in considerable numbers.

By no means are all these specially *Bombus*-flowers, though most of them have a considerable specialisation.

*Rhododendron Falconeri*, Hook. f., was found to be bitten through at the base of the corollas by some insect not detected, but probably a *Bombus* (Tonglu, 10-vi-09).

Leaving the Bombi, *Anthophora zonata*, L., may be specially considered. It is a common plains' insect, and a regular flower-visitor. In size it differs but little from the Bombi; and it tunnels into the flower of a *Costus* in exactly the same way as a *Bombus* tunnels into the flower of an *Iris*. It appears to be partial to the plains' Labiates just as *Bombus* is to those of the hills.

I have recorded its visits to :—

<i>Cochchorus capsularis</i> , Linn.	<i>Roylea elegans</i> , Wall.
<i>Gossypium neglectum</i> , Tod., or <i>intermedium</i> , Tod.	<i>Leucas linifolia</i> , Spreng (in the C.P.).
<i>Trichodesma indicum</i> , R.Br.	<i>Leucas urticaefolia</i> , R. Br.
<i>Dicliptera bupleuroides</i> , Ness.	<i>Teucrium Royleanum</i> , Wall.

and now add the following as visited also by it :—

<i>Impatiens tripetala</i> , Roxb. . .	Patgram, N. Bengal, 26-viii-07, trying to rob the flowers from the side.
	Calcutta, 18-viii-01.

<i>Cephalandra indica</i> , Naud. . .	Calcutta, 8 and 15-ix-01.
<i>Datura fastuosa</i> , Linn. . .	Calcutta, ix-01.
<i>Ipomoea rubro-coerulea</i> , Hook. . .	Bardwan, 10-ix-04.
<i>Ipomoea Batatas</i> , Lamk. . .	Calcutta, 12-viii-01.
<i>Martynia diandra</i> , Glox. . .	Calcutta, 1-ix-01.
<i>Ruellia prostrata</i> , Lamk. . .	Arrah, 8-vi-07.
<i>Leonotis nepetaefolia</i> , R. Br.	Kutupur, Dalsing Sarai and Barh, Behar, 1 to 5-vi-07;
<i>Leucas urticifolia</i> , R. Br. . .	Natran, Northern Arakan, 7-i-07.
<i>Leucas linifolia</i> , Spreng. . .	Dharmpur, Simla Himalaya, 2-v-09, failing to get honey.

<i>Scutellaria linearis</i> , Benth.	Calcutta, 2-ix-01 abundantly,
<i>Costus speciosus</i> , Sm. . .	Narayanganj, 2-ix-04.

With *Anthophora zonata* all through the forenoon, was seen on *Martynia diandra* at Bardwan *Anthophora violacea*, Lep.; and at one time the butterfly *Telchinia violae*, F., visited but failed to reach the honey (10-ix-04).

*Impatiens tripetala* also received visits from a *Parnara* (Patgram, 20-viii-07) and a *Papilio* (Sadiya, Upper Assam, 25-viii-09); *Leonotis nepetaefolia* those of a bee of the genus *Crocisa* and of a Bombylid fly (Calcutta, 1-ix-01); *Leucas linifolia* those of *Xylocopa fenestrata* (Dalsing Sarai, 29-i-07); *Apis dorsata* (Dacca, 7-v-11; Thakurganj and Tulsea, Northern Bengal, 31-i-11 and 3-ii-11); Natran, Northern Arakan, 7-i-07); *Elis* (Barnes Junction, 18-vi-09); a Lycanid butterfly (Pusa, 26-v-07) and *Terias*, and a *Parnara* (Barnes Junction, 18-vi-09), a Sphingid (Dacca, 7-v-11), a *Syrphus*, probably *S. balteatus*, Naxalbari, N. Bengal (24-i-11) and as above recorded of *Xylocopa*.

*Costus* flowers open between 7 and 9 a.m.

*Strobilanthes Mastersii*, T. Anders., is certainly well suited for the visits of the larger bees; but *Apis dorsata* only has been seen on it. This insect visited persistently at Kobo, Upper Assam (30-xi-11 and 4-xii-11).

*Irregular flowers suited for Apis and other small bees.*

*Capparis tener*, Dalz., is strikingly adapted for the visits of the more intelligent insects, such as the bees, on account of the neat way in which its honey is hidden in a little lenticular cavity made by the apposition of nectaries on the bases of the upper petals. The accompanying figure shows the appearance

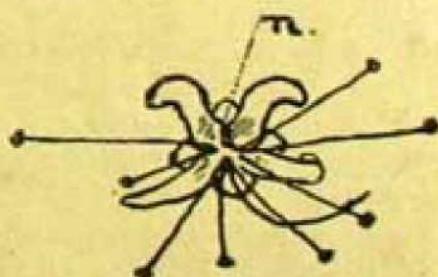


FIG. 7.—Flower of *Capparis tener*. The lens-shaped cavity containing the honey is indicated by the letter *n*.

of the flower, the letter *n* indicating where this double nectary is. Visiting insects alight on the stamens and style, stigma and anthers being mature together. An Apiid was seen on the flowers at Kawkareik in Tenasserim (3-iii-04).

*Indigofera glandulosa*, Willd., was seen to be visited by the butterfly *Papilio polytes*, L., at Jalgaon, Berar (26-ix-09).

*Sesbania aculeata*, Pers., received visits from *Xylocopa aestuans* and from a butterfly at Jamod, Berar (24-ix-09).

*Aeschynomene indica*, Linn., was seen to be visited by a *Terias* butterfly at Calcutta (12-ix-09).

*Centranthera hispida*, R. Br., has been seen to be visited by a butterfly of the genus *Terias* at Gauripur, Mymensingh (6-ix-06).

*Rungia repens*, Nees, has flowers which persist for three days. During the first and part of the second they are in a male condition with the two anthers side by side occupying under the narrow hood such a position that a visitor is likely to touch them with its head. At the end of the second day, the filaments begin to curve in a lateral direction carrying the anthers outside the flower, as shown in the annexed figure. Then the stigma occupies alone the place where the head of

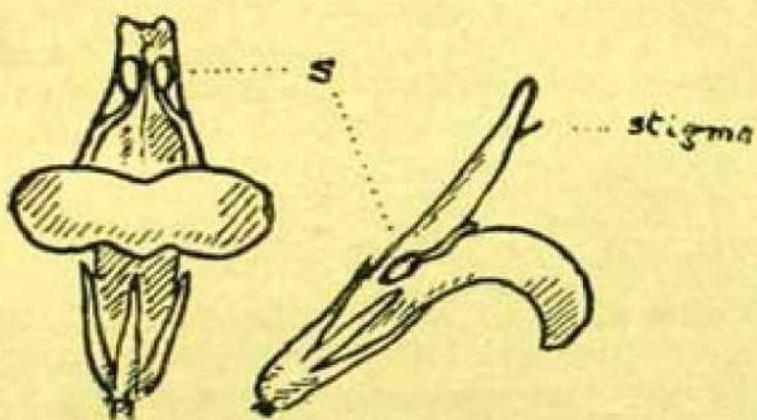


FIG. 8.—Flowers of *Rungia repens*, that seen from in front in the first or male position, that seen from the side in the second or female position. S indicates a stamen.

the visitor touches, and pollination may be expected to occur from a younger flower. The following visitors have been observed:—HYMENOPTERA. ACULEATA. *Apis* sp. (Calcutta, 3 to 18-viii-01), an Apiid (Calcutta, 3-viii-01). DIPLOPODIA. *Odynerus* 2 spp., very abundant (Calcutta, 3 to 18-viii-01), a Vespid (Miraj, near Kolhapur, 12-xi-02). LEPIDOPTERA, 5 or 6 species, (Miraj, 12-xi-02) DIPTERA. SYRPHIDAE *Syrphus* sp. (Miraj, 12-xi-02). SARCOPHAGIDAE. *Sarcophaga* sp. (Miraj, 12-xi-02). All at honey.

*Justicia Gendarussa*, Linn. f., has the same mechanism as the last. The tube is 12–13 mm. long, and affords abundant honey. The two anthers stand under the upper lip side by side, with the lobes one above the other. The lower of these two lobes is shortly spurred, the better to come into contact with a visiting insect's head; the upper dehisces by what is almost a pore in a line just above the spur and so above the visitors' heads; the lower dehisces outside and above the spur. The spurs

slightly narrow the way to the honey. After the male stage of the flower is over, the filaments carry the anthers outside the flower as in *Rungia repens*. At the close of the female stage of flowering, the corolla falls, but there is still much honey on the

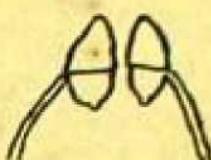


FIG. 9.—Stamens of *Justicia Gendarussa* showing how the anthers are constructed.

remaining parts to which visiting insects continue to go. *Apis dorsata* was seen visiting in considerable numbers and appears to be of the right kind of insect to effect fertilisation.

**HYMENOPTERA. ACULEATA.** *Xylocopa aestuans*, Lep., *Apis dorsata*, F., and several similar bees. **LEPIDOPTERA. RHOPALOCERA.** Several species. (Padoung, south of Prome, 24-ii-04). All at honey.

*Peristrophe bicalyculata*, Nees. The butterfly *Terias* has been seen visiting the flowers at Simulbasa in the Nepal terai (27-xi-07).

*Vitex trifolia*, Linn. f., has been seen to be visited by the butterfly, *Papilio polytes*, for honey at Jamod, Berar (25-ix-09). At Tampin in the Malay Peninsula, a *Xylocopa* visits it.

*Duranta Plumieri*, Jacq. **HYMENOPTERA. ACULEATA.** 4 species—**LEPIDOPTERA. RHOPALOCERA.** 2 species (Dam-dim, Duars, 21-viii-07).

*Ocimum gratissimum*, Linn., is fitted for the visits of bees, but has ultimate self-pollination, for the stamens, which at first diverge somewhat, laterally close together, and the stigma is raised by the style to the anthers. The flowers were seen to be visited by *Apis indica* at Pursua in the Nepal terai for honey (28-xi-07).

*Plectranthus ternifolius*, Don, has its stamens quite hidden in the boat-shaped keel which visiting insects are intended to depress. Although it is suited for the visits of small bees, butterflies only have been seen on it (Parsua, Nepal terai, 22-xi-07).

*Plectranthus gerardianus*, Benth., was seen to be visited by a *Bombus*, *Apis indica* and several butterflies at Bhimpedi, Nepal (1 and 14-xii-07).

*Elsholtzia strobilifera*, Benth., is visited by *Apis mellifica*, L., in Darjeeling (20-ix-09).

*Commelynna benghalensis*, Linn., as is well known, has cleistogamic flowers underground. Its half horizontal above-ground chasmogamic flowers carry one fertile stamen above the centre of the flower in the middle line, and two stamens laterally which face inwards and upwards. Some flowers are ♂ only : in the ♀ flower the stigma lies below the anthers, but is usually obliquely directed, projecting 1·5 mm. beyond the lower anthers, and 4 mm. from the unpaired upper anther (Calcutta, —1901 ; Parlakimedi, Circars, ix-1903).

The flowers of *Commelynna Forskalii*, Vahl, open at 7-30 a.m. (Sangli, near Miraj, 9-x-02).

In Note No. 6, the constancy with which the spur of *Delphinium nudatum*, Wall., is bitten through, was remarked. Another opportunity of observing the flowers occurred at Kasauli (9-v-11) ; but though bitten spurs were again found, the robber was not detected.

The spur of *Utricularia Wallichiana*, Wight, was observed bitten through in the Dawna hills (4-iii-08).

#### *Various flowers with many stamens.*

The large pendulous flowers of *Dillenia indica*, Linn., open in the night, apparently towards dawn, and last until the afternoon of the same day, when the petals first fall and, later at dusk, the calyx closes. Great numbers of *Apis dorsata* and *Apis florea* go to the flowers to collect pollen, and on one occasion a single individual of *Xylocopa aestuans* was seen first to seek honey, and not finding any, to collect pollen. One fly of the genus *Calliphora* was seen on the flowers (Calcutta, end June, 1911).

The flowers of *Dillenia pulcherrima*, Kurz, fall at midday. Before that a *Melapona* visits them (Moulmein, 2-iii-02).

On the rather smaller, but similar, flowers of the tea plant—*Camellia Thea*, Link—a Hesperid moth was seen sucking honey at Thansing, Nepal (11-xii-07).

*Mesua ferrea*, Linn., opens its flowers in the night. They are very fragrant, and *Apis indica* is attracted to them in considerable numbers (Moulmein and Korokpi, south of Amherst, 2-ii-04 and 12-iii-08).

*Barringtonia pterocarpa*, Kurz, opens its horizontal flowers in the late afternoon, from which time they last only until dawn. Honey is abundant, and no sooner are they open than *Melapona apicalis*, Dall., commences to visit in large numbers (Dawna hills near Kawkareik, Tenasserim, 1-iii-02).

*Callistemon speciosus*, DC., obtains the persistent visits of *Apis indica* in the Royal Botanic Gardens, Calcutta; but this bee can pass between the stamens without touching the anthers (25-xii-05).

*Opuntia* flowers are dissimilar to the foregoing in that they face upwards. Those of *Opuntia elatior*, Mill., have self-pollination in their closing at the end of the day: and self-pollination is possible in *Opuntia cochinelifera*, Mill.; but it is unlikely in *Opuntia Dillenii*, Haw., because the style carries the stigma well above the anthers.

*Apis* was seen collecting pollen in the flowers of *Opuntia monacantha* at Dharmpur in the Simla Hills (16-v-11). *Halictus senescens*, Smith, was observed pushing a way down among the stamens of *O. elatior* (Bankipur, 2-vi-07), and also of *O. Dillenii* (Barh, Behar, 5-vi-07), being abundant on the flowers. *Ceratina viridissima*, Dall., was doing the same at Barh (4 to 8-vi-07).

On *Rosa damascena*, Mill., the race which is grown for the manufacture of Attar, *Apis florea*, was seen collecting pollen (Patiala, 22-iv-07).

The small downwardly directed flowers of *Eurya acuminata*, DC., get the visits of species of *Andrena* and *Syrphus* (Chitlong, Nepal, 7-xii-07).

*Rubus rosaefolius*, Smith, has downwardly directed flowers, which receive the visits of *Apis* at Shillong (16-vi-11). The flowers of *Rubus ellipticus*, Smith, do not face downwards in the same way, but are much visited by *Apis* in the Himalaya above Palampur, Kangra Valley (10-iii-02). On the flowers of *Rubus moluccanus*, Linn., have been seen several individuals of a Bombycid moth at Dumpep, Khasia Hills (30-v-11).

*Hopea odorata*, Roxb., has been seen to be visited by a *Melipona* at Moulmein rather freely. Its slightly fragrant flowers were noted to open at very varying hours between midnight and midday (Moulmein, 15-ii-02).

*Grewia Microcos*, Linn., opens its flowers between 7 and 8 a.m.; then the citron-yellow petals bend back giving space for the stamens with golden-yellow anthers to spread in the form of a spray. Among these anthers the stigma lies, and is touched by them in the closing of the flowers at dusk. *Melipona* is a common visitor in Moulmein (23 and 24-ii-04).

*Grewia arbutilifolia*, Juss., has flowers differing slightly in that the stigma lies beyond the anthers. These anthers dehisce as the flower opens (Parlakimedi, Northern Circars, 2-x-02).

*Grewia asiatica*, Linn.,<sup>1</sup> was seen to be visited by *Xylocopa* at Saharanpur (26-v-06).

### Malvaceae.

Although the devices for securing pollination which can be found in the Malvaceae vary with the size of the flower in suitability to a great variety of visitors, there is considerable similarity in their flowers: and I find it convenient to put together here in one place all the notes that I wish to make. From *Hibiscus lasiopetalus* which is a true bird-flower though *Althaea rosea* and cotton which, as given above, obtain bird-visits, there is a gradual diminution in the size of the flower and of the suitable insects, which somehow has left but little mark on the shape of the parts of the flowers.

Note No. 4 of this series was on the pollination of cotton detailing observations made in Behar and a part of Note No. 7 dealt with observations on cotton in Berar. I was anxious when writing those two notes to prevent a deduction being made from Professor Gammie's observations at Poona to the effect that cotton is widely self-pollinated. Since then the Howards, A. and G. C. L., in the *Memoirs of the Department of Agriculture of India*, Botanic series, iii, p. 261, have written that they have proved cross-fertilisation to occur at least sometimes at Pusa. To the visitors already recorded *Papilio polytes* may be added (Nandurbar, Tapti valley, 29-ix-09).

The yellow flowers of *Gossypium intermedium*, Tod., and *G. neglectum*, Tod., open about 7 to 8-30 a.m. and may persist to the next morning: but those of the races of the same two species of *Gossypium* which have white flowers go through the processes of expanding and withering about two hours later.

*Sida cordifolia*, Linn., opens its flowers about 8 a.m. (Cuttack, 22 to 24-viii-06; Damdim, Duars, 22-viii-02); and they close at noon, when the styles have bent so as to have brought the stigmas among the anthers. *Sida acuta*, Burm., opens its flowers at about 8 a.m., the anthers dehiscing afterwards, and later in the morning self-pollination becomes not improbable (Calcutta, 15 to 19-ix-01). *Sida rhombifolia*, Linn., opens its flowers between 9 and 10 a.m. (Akrani plateau 2 to 10-x-09) or later up to noon (Nandurbar, 29-ix-09). *Sida spinosa*, Linn., opens an hour after the last on the Akrani plateau.

*Hibiscus vitifolius*, Linn., opens its flowers soon after dawn. Later in the day the stigmas are brought into contact with the anthers by the recurring of the styles (Calcutta, —.01; Bardwan, 20-ix-07). *Hibiscus cannabinus*, Linn.,

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Mr. R. S. Hole for naming this, my field number 27223. He adds that it is the form of the species, *sensu ampliore*, which is common in the plains of Northern India.

has been studied by the Howards (l. c., p. 261), who record that the flowers open early. I found them to open at 7 a.m. in observations made at Nandurbar (1-x-09). *Hibiscus ferculneus*, Linn., opens its flowers towards 10 a.m. (Myingyan, 12-ii-02; Monywa, 10-ii-04). *Hibiscus panduraeformis*, Burm., opens its flowers at 8 a.m. (Belgaum, 14-xi-02). *Hibiscus sabdariffa*, Linn., has been observed by the Howards to open its flowers late in the morning and to close them again after only three hours. *Hibiscus venustus*, Bl., opens its flowers at 7 a.m. (Dawna Hills, Tenasserim, 4-iii-02). *Hibiscus fragrans*, Roxb., opens its flowers at nightfall, and they last for twenty-four hours, withering at 5 p.m. on the next day (Kobo, Upper Assam, —xii-11). *Abutilon indicum*, G. Don,<sup>1</sup> opens its flowers at 2—3 p.m. and closes them at 8 p.m. (Waltair, 2-vii-02; Kyaukse, Central Burma, 11-i-04; Myingyan, 15-ii-04). *Abutilon hirtum*, W. and A., opens its flower at about 10—11 a.m. and closes again at sunset (Monywa, 10-ii-04). *Abutilon graveolens*, W. and A., opens its flowers from 2 p.m. to 3-30 p.m. and the stamens dehisce as it opens (Kyaukse, 10 to 11-i-04).

The above series of observations requires amplifying, and is only published now because I am obliged to leave the amplification to be done by others. I never had the leisure myself in India when in the field to do this line of work full justice, nor facilities for cultivating the plants under my own observation.

To the flowers of *Sida acuta* butterflies were seen to be visitors near Calcutta (15-ix-02). Butterflies also seem to be the chief visitors to the flowers of *Urena lobata*, Linn., thus:—

HYMENOPTERA. ACULEATA. One Apiid, Calcutta, 20-x-01. LEPIDOPTERA. RHOPALCERA. *Papilio* spp. Calcutta, 20-x-01. Pierid. Calcutta, 29-x-01, *Terias* sp. Pursua, Nepal terai, 26 xi-07; an undetermined species, Natran, Northern Arakan, 7-i-07. HETEROCEA. *Theckla* sp. Calcutta, 26-x-07, Sphingid, Natran, 7-i-07.

To the flowers of *Malachra capitata*, Linn. *Xylocopa latipes* has been seen visiting, but not persistently, as well as black ants (Calcutta, 27-x-01). The staminal column is usually bent somewhat to one side of the flower.

#### *Unspecialised flowers.*

I arrange the following observations by the systematic position of plants.

**Argemone mexicana**, Linn. Not a single visitor has been

<sup>1</sup> I am much indebted to Mr. H. G. Carter, my successor in Calcutta, for this determination.

seen on the flowers of this plant although it has been under observation repeatedly<sup>1</sup> in many different parts of India; but self-fertilisation is accomplished in the closing of the flowers at nightfall. They set a full complement of seed. I found as many as eighty capsules on a single plant, and an average of 44 per plant at Dalsing Sarai in Tirhut. The petals close on the anthers between 6 and 9 p.m.; and fall off at dawn on the next day.

*Gynandropsis pentaphylla*, DC., has been seen to be visited by *Xylocopa latipes* for honey (Calcutta, 15-ix-01). Early in the morning the stigma is thrust out of the closed petals and so exposed before the anthers. Soon after this the petals expand. Later the anthers come into contact with the stigma. Monteiro says in his "*Angola and the River Congo*" (London, 1875), ii, p. 205, that a Sphingid fertilizes this plant in Portuguese West Africa.

*Flacourtie Ramontchi*, L'Her., was seen to be visited by *Apis indica* at Parsua in the Nepal terai (27-xi-07).

*Melochia corchorifolia*, Linn., has flowers which close towards midday. A butterfly was seen to visit them (Bardwan, September, 1903).

*Corchorus capsularis*, Linn. To this plant visitors were recorded in Note No. 2. Since that note was published Mr. R. S. Finlow and I have observed *Apis florea* to be a most abundant visitor for honey at Pusa and Dacca (*vide Memoirs Department of Agriculture, India, Botanical series*, IV, 1912, p. 90).

*Tribulus terrestris*, Linn., has flowers somewhat variable in size, which open fairly early in the morning and may wither at noon. Every flower sets fruit, probably by pollination in its closing, for when they open the anthers and the stigma are separated. *Apis florea* and a smaller Apiid, Lycaenids, a moth, and Coecinellid beetle were seen in the flowers (Myingyan, 14-ii-04).

*Oxalis corniculata*, Linn., has been seen visited by Lycaenids and after their visits the stigmas were observed to be pollinated (Calcutta, 22-iv-01).

**Glycosmis pentaphylla**, Correa. The five petals arch over

<sup>1</sup> The villagers in Behar use the oil of *Argemone mexicana* considerably, picking the capsules with iron or wooden tongs. They get their supply of seeds from off the fallows, where the plant grows as a weed freely. And if we could find a race with spineless capsules, I see no reason why we should not make a cultivated plant of it. In the hope of finding some sport promising the needed race, I have had *Argemone* much under observation: but I regret to say that I have not found the desired condition.

the sexual organs and also narrow the way to the honey. The Hymenopteron *Scolia aureipennis*, Lep., was seen twice on the flowers (Plassey, 3-ix-07) sucking honey; and the Hymenoptera *Eumenes conica*, F., and *Sphex lobatus*, L., were seen doing the same in Calcutta (2-xi-01), the latter diligently.

*Toddalea aculeata*, Pers., was found to be visited by a small bee at Pongging in the Abor Hills. The anthers do not touch the stigma at all.

*Aegle Marmelos*, Correa, has very sweet-scented flowers which attract a considerable variety of insects (Dacca, 2-vi-11).

*Zizyphus Jujuba*, Lamk., by reason of its abundant free honey attracts a variety of visitors. The flowers are at first male, and later female, just as those of the *Euonymus* figured in Note No. 7. They lie close to one another; and neighbours are more likely to be in different stages than in the same, so that fertilisation of neighbouring flowers can be accomplished easily. Their duration is about three days. *Polystes hebraeus*, F., and another Hymenopteron have been seen as visitors, an ant, a small Dipteron and a beetle (Calcutta, 15-ix-01); the same species of *Polystes* and other insects were seen on the flowers at Nandurbar, Tapti valley, sucking honey (27-ix-09).

*Zizyphus nummularia*, W. and A., which is very similar to the last, was seen visited by the Hymenopteron *Megaspis crassus*, F., at Nandurbar (27-ix-09).

*Vitis trifolia*, Linn., is very well visited at Calcutta for the sake of its freely exposed honey by HYMENOPTERA. ACULEATA. *Apis florea*, L., diligently. *Polystes hebraeus*, F., and another Vespid. LEPIDOPTERA. RHOPALOCERA. small butterflies. DIPTERA. SYRPHIDAE. *Helophilus* sp., *Syrphus*, sp., SARCOPHAGIDAE. *Sarcophaga* sp. (15 to 18-viii-01).

*Tapiria hirsuta*, Hook. f. is visited by Bibionids and other small flies at Kobo, Upper Assam (25 to 26-ii-12).

*Mimosa pudica*, Linn. The honeyless flowers open at dawn and fade at midday. They obtain abundant visits for pollen from *Apis dorsata* (Bardwan, 10-ix-02; Banarhat, Duars, 24-viii-07). *Apis indica* (Bardwan, 10 ix-01), and *Apis florea* (Bardwan, 10-ix-02). The first named has been seen as a visitor in the Malay Peninsula on many occasions.

*Acacia arabica*, Willd., was seen to be visited by HYMENOPTERA. ACULEATA. *Xylocopa* sp. (Akot, 17-ix-09). LEPIDOPTERA. RHOPALOCERA. *Papilio polytes*, L., abundantly (Akot, 17-ix-09; Jalgaon, 26-ix-09). *Danais* sp. (Jalgaon,

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26-ix-09], *Catopsilia crocale*, Cramer (Jalgaon, 26-ix-09), *Terias* sp. (Jalgaon, 26-ix-09).

*Sedum rosulatum*, Edgew., was observed by Dr. N. Annandale at Simla on 16-v-09, and he has been so good as to communicate to me the following list of visitors taken on the flowers :—

DIPTERA. BOMBYLIDAE. *Anthrena himalayensis*, Brunetti; *A. aperta*, Walker; *Usia sedophila*, Brunetti; *U. marginata*, Brunetti; SEPSINAE. *Sepsis cynipsea*, L.; *S. fulvolateralis*, Brunetti; *S. bicolor*, Wiedemann.

*Pentapanax Leschenaultii*, Seem., was seen to be visited by numerous individuals of *Apis* at Ripshing Showing in the Abor Hills (3-iii-12).

*Vanquiera spinosa*, Roxb., was visited by *Apis indica* at Pagnat, south of Amherst (12-iii-08).

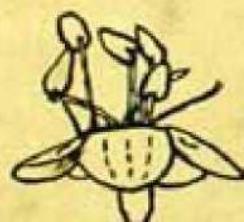


FIG. 10.—Flower of *Evolvulus nummularioides*, seen from the side.

*Evolvulus nummularioides*, Linn., is a simple upwardly directed flower, which opens about dawn and closes before midday. There is no visible honey; but *Apis florea* is a constant visitor for pollen through May, June and September, and perhaps in other months in Calcutta. Self-pollination is not improbable as the anthers dehisce just after the opening of the flower and the stigmas lie among them with no constant relative positions.

*Heliotropium indicum*, Linn., was seen to be visited by a butterfly (Calcutta, 3-viii-01).

*Cynoglossum micranthum*, Desf., was seen to be visited by a Syrphid at Bhamo (2-ii-04).

*Cynoglossum lanceolatum*, Forsk., was seen to be abundantly visited by a butterfly of the genus *Lycaena* and by a Vespid at Barnes Junction, Northern Bengal (18-viii-09).

*Gentiana capitata*, Ham., var. *strobiliformis*, C. B. Clarke, was found to be cleistogamic on Phallut, Sikkim Himalaya. (20-v-09).

**Gentiana bryoides**, Burkill, which grows with the last, opens its flowers in the sunshine but is self-pollinating (21-v-09).

**Solanum verbascifolium**, Linn., was seen visited by *Anthophora zonata*, seeking honey in vain (Calcutta, 15-ix-01).

**Scoparia dulcis**, Linn., is visited by small bees for pollen in Calcutta (3-viii-01).

**Lippia nodiflora**, Rich., attracts but few visitors. *Apis* was seen on it sucking honey at Pusa, Tirhut (26-v-07).

**Boerhaavia repens**, Linn., has been seen visited by two species of butterflies, and by one species of the Syrphidae. (Calcutta, 11-viii-01; 11-ix-01, 14-ix-01 and 20-ix-01).

**Achyranthes aspera**, Linn., was seen to be visited by *Apis dorsata* at Dacca (9-v-11).

**Antigonus leptopus**, Endl. The following visitors have been noticed in Calcutta (8-ix-01):—*Xylocopa aestuans* and *Apis indica*, the latter most abundant. *Apis florea*, *Xylocopa aestuans* and *X. latipes* have also been seen on the flowers in large numbers in Malacca and Singapore.

**Polygonum capitatum**, Ham., has self-pollination in the closing of the flowers (Rengging, Abor Hills, 27-i-12). It is however freely visited by Syrphids at Cherrapunji (31-v-11), and by the Syrphid *Eristalis*, as well as by the bee *Apis florea* at Kobo in Upper Assam (10-iii-12).

**Polygonum chinense**, Linn., was seen to be visited by a Lycaenid at Kobo (4-xii-11).

**Jatropha gossypifolia**, Linn., was seen visited by a *Papilio* at Plassey (3-ix-07), and also by an Apiid.

**Sapium insignis**, Benth., gets the visits of a *Melipona* to the large extra floral nectaries which are associated with its inflorescences (Amherst, 12-iii-08).

**Euphorbia pilulifera**, Linn., is not uncommonly run over by a black ant which obtains honey from the glands round the flowers (Domohani, North Bengal, 19-vi-09).

**Asparagus filicinus**, Ham., has flowers pleasantly scented by day, but they seem scentless at night. The anthers are about 3 mm. from the stigmas. *Apis florea* and two species of Syrphidae, as well as a *Calliphora*, have been seen on the flowers (Calcutta—01).

**Cyanotis axillaris**, Roem. and Schultes, opens its violet flowers in the morning and the anthers and stigma are 2 mm.

apart at first, but after a short time the stigma inclines to one side and falls against the hairs of one or another of the filaments, after which the flower withers (Calcutta, 24 to 28-ix-01). *Cyano-tis fasciculata*, Roem. and Schulte's, opens its flowers at the same hour (Sangli near Miraj, 9-x-02).

*Arenga saccharifera*, Labill., and *Caryota urens*, Linn., drop to the ground their male flowers in enormous numbers, where after the fall they are very diligently visited by *Apis indica* and *Apis florea* for pollen (Calcutta, on many occasions). Barbosa Rodrigues in his *Noches des Palmiers* (Bruxelles, 1903, p. 21) records how he observed that a bee in Rio de Janeiro visits the fallen male flowers of the palm *Gulielma speciosa*, as they lie on the ground and flies up into the inflorescences above where are the female flowers, so bringing about fertilisation: but I have not observed the bees to fly up onto the female flowers of these two eastern palms, perhaps from want of opportunities. The male flowers of *Arenga saccharifera* which fell on a Monday in Calcutta were still affording pollen to bees on the following Sunday.

*Andropogon Sorghum*, Brot., and *Pennisetum typhoideum*, Rich., have been seen to be visited by small bees for pollen in the country near Bellary (26-xi-02).

#### *Araceae.*

*Typhonium trilobatum*, Schott, I examined a few years ago in Dacca. The mechanism was found to be exactly as described by Miss Cleghorn in this Journal, X. 1914, pp. 421-424. The following beetles were taken within the lower chamber, and kindly named for me by Mr. F. M. Howlett.

COLEOPTERA. SCARABEIDAE. *Onthophobus* sp.; *Cacobius vulcanus*; *Cacobius* sp., *Aphodius moestus*, F. STAPHYLINIDAE. 2 or 3 spp. NITIDULIDAE. *Carpophilus* sp. (Dacca, 6 to 10-v-11). Four species of beetles, unidentified, were also taken within the chamber near Calcutta (27-v-01).

*Amorphophallus campanulatus*, Blume, was found to be visited by flies of the genera *Calliphora* and *Sarcophaga*, attracted by the foul smell (Calcutta, 22-v-04).

*Alocasia fornicata*, Schott, of which the smell was not offensive, had within its lower chamber many small Diptera, which were not being held prisoners (Chuadanga, Lower Bengal, 22-viii-07).

*Colocasia antiquorum*, Schott. On spathes of this plant many beetles and flies were observed; they congregated about the entrance from the upper to the lower chamber (Haflong, N. Cachar, 29-viii-09). Miss Cleghorn has described in this

Journal the mechanism by which pollination is brought about : and to her remarks the only thing that I find to add is, that I suspect the presence in the chamber of two smelling compounds on account of the way in which the odour of the inflorescence is at one time strongly offensive and at another not exactly offensive.

*Arisaema speciosum*, Mart. Small Diptera were found within the spathe on the mountain of Tonglu, Sikkim Himalaya (18-v-09).

*Sauromatum guttatum*, Schott. At Pathankot in the Panjab the following visitors to the flowers were observed : HYMENOPTERA. ACULEATA. Apiidae, 1 sp.; LEPIDOPTERA, 1 moth; DIPTERA, several spp.; COLEOPTERA, several spp. (7-iii-02).

#### *Ant-patrols and extrafloral nectaries.*

Mention has been made above of the ant-bodyguard of the Cassias. On *Cassia hirsuta*, Linn., the extrafloral nectaries at which the ants feed are particularly well developed, not being in any way diminished in size as the leaves pass over into bracts. Ants were observed on them at Dibrugarh (20-xi-11), and in addition a small winged Hymenopteron was obtaining food from them. A black ant has been observed at the corresponding extrafloral nectaries of *Cassia occidentalis*, Linn. (Dinajpur, 15-viii-06). At the same place and on the same date a wasp was seen visiting the extrafloral nectaries of *Cassia Tora*, Linn.

The species of ant making the patrol varies; and on *Impatiens tripetala* two different species have been noted in the same neighbourhood (Goalpara, 3-ix-06). The ant which lives in Calcutta on the inflorescences of *Thunbergia grandiflora*, Roxb., is again a distinct species from these, being also of much smaller size ; but an ant of the same size lives on them at Gauhati (2-ix-06).

## 16. A note on the Terai Forests between the Gandak and the Teesta.

By I. H. BURKILL.

The Terai from the Gandak to the Teesta is a sill with a very slight slope from north to south, most rainy in the east, and decreasingly so towards the west, furrowed throughout from back to front in a parallel manner by many rivers.

Remote from the influence of man, it had been forest in all its length. But man, the one animal with the power of applying and in some measure of controlling fire, has by this means partially overcome nature ; to date and from the south he has driven back the trees before wide stretches of rice fields in the areas which happened to be most easily burned clean, and which, on account of the position of administrative centres were also most persistently attacked.

It is fairly evident that some of the rivers,—those with longer courses,—have played a great part in helping him to make history; for these bring down sand and gravel, and on the top of the plains' silt, build cones of deposit which afford a percolation and a reduced fertility sufficient to modify the nature of the surface of the soil and the density and character of the vegetation which covers it, so that the surface of the soil on the cones is made more easy to travel over at seasons when rainy conditions prevail than that of the silt; and the vegetation is less tangled, one conspicuous element in it being the sal tree (*Shorea robusta*, Gaertn.). Now it happens that a little firing favours the sal tree by doing less injury to it than to most of its competitors, so that by fire, applied in moderation, it is caused to be more dominant than otherwise, producing a rather open forest. Such firing has certainly occurred; and the sal having been thereby encouraged, and growing only on the sandy soils, the diversity naturally existing between the vegetation on the river cones and in the lower hollows has acquired yet more marked dissimilarities. Man has undoubtedly applied this firing through centuries; he has always been in a hurry to burn; and where particularly he came and passed into the forests, the more marked has his influence been, progressing from the first stage where the sal is encouraged, to the second, where the firing being too frequent, it is destroyed; and the forest gives place to savannah, to grass, and then is ready to come under the plough.

The rivers did more than determine where the forest should

be eaten into from its south edge: they determined where the through roads should lie. Two main trade routes from time immemorial have traversed the Terai: and though the passes on the Thibetan frontier have fixed the upper ends of their course in the mountains, their trend towards the plains has in both been towards a great river, not for the sake of river-carriage, but because the rivers' spill afforded the way into the low country. It is most noticeable that the one route coming from the Kuti and Kirong passes inclines westward towards the old course of the Gandak, and that the other coming from the Tang-la crosses the Jalep-la and descends with a westward trend *via* Daling (now *via* Kalimpong) towards the Teesta.

Trade cuts for itself a channel like a river; and its opportunities beget opportunities: the strongest and most enterprising of peoples take possession of the routes; they cause the channel to be cut deeper, to be better, to be of more use. The trans-terai trade-routes have been no exception to this. The greatest enemy on them was malaria. But with the opening of the ways through the forest the danger from this became less, and the routes gradually more and more excelled any possible rivals as the means of passing through the beast-infested, unhealthy belt.

There are other sand-carrying rivers between the Gandak and the Teesta, such as the Bagmati, the Kumla, the Kankai, the Mahananda, and largest of all, the Kosi; and there is reason to believe that man has at times made more headway against the forest on their sand-cones than between them. Thus, though the Bagmati now emerges from the great 'bhaver' or forest so far in Nepal that I have not been able to get an exact idea how the forest limit lies, in Rennell's *Atlas* of 1783 it is recorded that it then made a wide bay, into the head of which the river came. The Kumla, whatever the forest line may be like at the present time, enters British territory near the head of a wide bay in the frontier line, which seems to be evidence of a former limit of administration (i.e. reclamation from forest). On the Kankai the forest now recedes to  $26^{\circ} 34'$  in a deep bay, which has deepened much since 1783. The Mahanada, almost as soon as it leaves the hills, enters cleared land. Lastly, on the Kosi Rennell shows a deep inlet in the forest along its western side. These bays in the bhaver or forest point to a relative success by man in forcing his colonization over their sand-cones. All the rivers named are much smaller than the Gandak and Teesta except the Kosi; in which connection it is most interesting to refer to Captain Hirst's contention (this *Journal*, 1908, p. 468) that the last-named has only attained its present dimensions in times absolutely modern and far more recent than that date at which the Gandak and Teesta acquired their importance.



Having attained the plains, the trade routes bent round towards the best marts. The western route, for instance, inclined south-eastwards at one period to Vaisali, and afterwards to Vaisali's rival and conqueror, Patna, only 27 miles distant. The eastern route at one period ended at Mahastan on the old Karatoya, due south of its exit from the hills, and then was deflected south-westwards to Gaur, and later to Murshidabad. These marts were far from the Terai,<sup>1</sup> too far to prevent the growing up of towns there, if only the climate would permit it. The climate did. Flourishing on the conditions brought about by the opening up of the land about the western route rose Semraon, and similarly on the eastern route rose Kamartipur. Large places such as these could only exist in the midst of wide fields; and we may safely assert that over the centuries of their existence the forests of the Terai must have been very much interrupted about their longitudes.

When Mohamed Bakht-i-yar Khilji had conquered Bengal and established himself at Gaur, the richness of the hill-trade aroused his cupidity,—most especially was the trade large in ponies,—and he determined on that marauding expedition against Burdhan-kot (Bhut-tang-kot or Bhut-boundary fort), which was his undoing. In 1216, in the spring apparently, he set out, was defeated by men in bamboo armour<sup>2</sup>; and a swollen river completed the disaster. Minhaj-ud-Dowla, the historian of forty years later, recorded from more than one source what he could learn of this great defeat; but he mixed into the story the geography of the western trade-route, whereas it was up the eastern that the expedition went. Some Kuch chief, called by Minhaj the Rai of Kamrud, with a bone to pick of his own, proposed to join in it if only it could be delayed, which suggests that there was already being felt by the Kuches in the hills, the Thibetan pressure from behind the Himalaya before which they were ousted ultimately so thoroughly that Bhutan invaded Kuch Behar in 1772.

In the year after this expedition took place, and up to the year 1226, the Muhammadans were occupied in reducing the kingdom of Tirhut on the other route. Only in 1352 did they penetrate so far as to destroy Semraon, which by that time and in spite of the grandiloquent account of its overthrow must have lost much of its importance. Only about 1500 was Bettiah made an outpost fort against the hill kingdoms.

Gaur was at this date or shortly afterwards a city of 1,200,000 inhabitants. Yet petty Rajput chiefs ruled the marches so near to it as northern Purneah, and were not

<sup>1</sup> The earlier markets were north of the Ganges; but the last south of it—an interesting fact which historians must take account of.

<sup>2</sup> This type of Bamboo armour may be seen in the Indian Museum, the Thibetans still using it.

brought under the Muhammadan yoke, until Saif Khan became faizdar of Purneah in 1738. Their long immunity from suppression, and the rarity in the whole countryside of ruins of permanent habitations, indicate the folk as having been too poor for the administration to spread over them. Population must have been very scanty; cultivation very backward: and when Saif Khan is recorded as having brought half of the land between Purneah and the mountains under cultivation, the Raja of Morung beyond is recorded as paying tribute in game, not having other means wherewith to do so. Likewise on the northern side of the Terai the inhabitants of the hills seem to have been feeble folk, for we have no knowledge of them in history; and when the Gurkhas had won their life-and-death struggle with the Newars, the whole of the wide stretch up to Sikkim was overrun with apparent ease. Thus in review does it seem that the want of a trade route through the Terai anywhere between the two important ones of the Gandak and Teesta left the development of the land on either side of the Terai belt in a backward state.

Saif Khan's work was helped forward by another circumstance, unconnected with his own ability: Newars who had fled before the Gurkhas, settled at the southern limits of the bhabar and commenced to clear land (*vide* Buchanan-Hamilton in Montgomery Martin's "Eastern India," iii, 1838, p. 197).

At a little later date we find that the East India Company's Trade Agent at Patna maintained a buying subagent at Kaliyaganj on the Mahananda, whose duty it was to obtain sacking, made there from jute, and to send it down country. The existence of the subagency shows that the country on the eastern trade route was much cultivated. But I have no knowledge of any such subagent being placed along the southern side of the Terai towards the west.

It is probably written in Buchanan-Hamilton's unpublished manuscript at the India Office how much of the north of Purneah in 1811 was in forest, how much was in grass and how much was under the plough. Such information would be most interesting, if extracted. As it is, Montgomery Martin's account of Purneah is a very incomplete reproduction of what Hamilton wrote.

Hamilton (as reproduced) records the existence of a sal forest of small extent in the north-west corner (north-east was printed by Martin in error) of the Purneah district, and of several similar woods on the northern border of Bahadurganj and Udrai, producing in the last more *Butea frondosa*, Roxb., and *Bombax malabaricum*, DC., intermixed, than sal. Bamboos, he reports, to have been scarce, especially north of Araria, though slightly more abundant south-eastwards. *Dalbergia Sissoo*, Roxb., he records as planted on the lower Mahananda and west of the Kosi. Now conditions are changed. Every-

where north of Bahadurganj bamboos and mangoes abound ; but the mango trees are rarely old. Other trees are in no variety and rare everywhere, or are often entirely absent over large areas. The patches of sal south of the Nepal border have almost disappeared. *Bombax malabaricum* is rare ; *Butea* is only a little more common ; *Odina Wodier*, Roxb., occurs sometimes in the east. In 1911 I passed through the country near the border of north-eastern Purneah, and examined the vegetation. As remains of forest south of Nepalese territory were seen, one sal tree north of Thakurganj, a dozen trees at the place marked on the map<sup>1</sup> by the appropriate name of Salguri, a third clump at Garbandanga, and a fourth, north of Bibiganj. Regeneration is almost absent from these; and they are doomed. In 1907 I visited the northern parts of Darbhanga and parts of Champaran. There the mango trees are older than in Northern Purneah. *Bassia latifolia*, Roxb., and *Dalbergia Sissoo* are sparingly present ; *Bombax malabaricum* and *Butea frondosa* are local. The sal which until, say, twenty years ago existed in a narrow strip along the Tiurnadi has been removed, leaving scrub. *Acacia arabica*, Willd., is absent all along the whole border.

The little variety in the woody vegetation over these wide tracts is evidence of periodic and severe firing at no very remote date, whereby the forest was destroyed first to a savannah, and then to what remains now through such a state as we see at the present time on the great gravel bank of the Eastern Duars towards Nagrakata.

The appearance of the forest which has gone, we can in part picture from the northern parts which persist. A short account of what is to be found in Nepal on the western trade route may be read in the *Records of the Botanical Survey of India* (Vol. iv., 1910, p. 67), and of what is under the Darjeeling Himalaya in articles by Mr. J. S. Gamble in the *Indian Forester*, i., p. 73, and Messrs. J. W. A. Grieve and E. O. Shebbeare in the same, xl., 1914, p. 147.

At a very remote period the bhaver may have merged southwards gradually into a third type of forest having *Barringtonia acutangula*, Gaertn., as its most prominent member. Such a forest, up to a quite recent date, lined the northern bank of the Ganges in Purneah and is described by Buchanan-Hamilton as three to twelve miles wide when the nineteenth century came in (Montgomery Martin, *Eastern India*, iii., 1838, p. 195). It was more tiger-infested in the seventies and eighties, than the Terai; but has been swept away by the northward migration of the Sontals.

<sup>1</sup> This map is dated 1857, additions to 1895. How old the name Salguri is, consequently does not appear from it.

## CONCLUSIONS.

1. The natural vegetation of the Terai between the Gandak and the Teesta is forest.
2. The sand-carrying rivers which traverse it, by altering the nature of the surface soil promote the growth of the sal tree, *Shorea robusta*.
3. This effect is local, and determines the distribution of sal forest and diverse forest.
4. Man finds it easier to burn in the sal forest than in the diverse forest: and by moderate burning he encourages the growth of the sal, thus intensifying the differences between the two kinds of forest.
5. But as the pressure of man becomes heavier, the whole forest is destroyed by the firing; and, the pressure varying according to population, the south limit of the Terai forest exhibits bays where this attack has progressed most. Both from the greater ease of burning the areas covered by sal, and from the greater population which the neighbourhood of the rivers is able to support in comparative health, these bays are on the courses of the sand-carrying rivers.
6. The Gandak and the Teesta, the largest rivers of this part of the Terai except the perhaps-very-modern Kosi, have had from time immemorial trade routes connected with them, as a consequence of the suitability of the neighbourhood of the banks of a big river for travel in a land annually subject to flooding: and by the frequent coming and going, along these trade-routes the Terai forests have been particularly open to the attack of man.
7. This attack on the Terai forests, in the time before the Mohammedan irruption into Bengal, was effective enough for towns to spring up in the Terai belt, near the trade routes,—towns which by their size would need large clearings about them.
8. But between the trade routes both north and south of the Terai forest, want of a through traffic kept the land from developing, and the inhabitants of Northern Purneah and of the Himalaya north of Purneah, remained economically backward.
9. In the eighteenth century, Northern Purneah emerged into a transition phase between forest and cultivation, such as we can see in the Eastern Duars at the present time.
10. In the process nearly all the formerly existing tree growth was burned off, and although we find now that the landscape is full of trees, they are bamboos and mango-trees whose planting is certainly very recent.



## 17. Some old Records of the Madras Army (1757-1759).

*Edited by the Rev. H. HOSTEN, S.J.*

On December 21, 1910, the Army Department, Government of India, sent to the Honorary Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal a list of old records of the Madras Army, which were then being disposed of, and asked whether our Society would care to print any of them before they were lost sight of in Government Record rooms. On February 9/10, 1911, the Army Department, Fort William, Government of India, (in its No. 49 A.D./Camp), instructed the Officer in charge of the Records of the Government of India, Calcutta, that the records of the old Madras Army, which were then in his custody, should be disposed of as follows:—

### LIST OF OLD RECORDS.

<i>Books.</i>	<i>Orders as to disposal.</i>
1. Roll of recruit and pension to boys of— 4th Madras Light Cavalry, dated 1848, 1 volume. 8th Madras Light Cavalry, dated 1854, 1 volume. 18th Madras Native Infantry, dated 1851, 1 volume.	To be sent to the Madras Government Record Office.
2. Letter book, Adjutant General's Office, Madras, dated 1784-86, 1 volume.	
3. Portion of an Invaliding Roll, Madras, dated 1872.	To be sent to Major G. R. Oakes, 88th Carnatic Infantry.
4. 1 paper-covered book of coloured pattern drawings of regimental badges for knapsacks.	To be sent to the Secretary, United Service Institution of India, Simla.
5. 1 paper-covered lithographed book of elephant artillery mountings, Madras.	

*Documents.*

1. List of English prisoners in Pondicherry, dated 1759 (in French).
2. List of French prisoners at Fort St. George, dated 1759.
3. General abstract of English prisoners at Pondicherry, dated 1759.
4. List of English and French prisoners exchanged, dated 1759.
5. List of French ships at the Cape and Mauritius in February 1759.
6. Copy of a letter from Colonel Clive to Admiral Watson, [dated 1757].
7. Copy of a letter from Admiral Watson to Colonel Clive, dated 1757.

To be sent to the Asiatic Society of Bengal for publication on the...understanding that the originals will be returned.... to be preserved in the Imperial Library.<sup>1</sup>

*Coloured Plates.*

1. 1 bundle coloured drawings of regimental colours of Madras regiments.
2. 1 bundle coloured drawings of Queen's colours of Madras regiments.
3. 1 bundle coloured drawings of pairs of regimental colours of Madras regiments.
4. 1 small coloured plate of regimental colour of H. M.'s 55th Foot, dated 1843, approved and apparently signed by Queen Victoria.
5. 2 water colour sketches of men of 14th Sikhs and 20th Punjabis, dated 1877.

To be sent to the Secretary, United Service Institution of India, Simla.

*Drawings in colour and ink of articles of dress.*

1. 1 brown paper covered bundle of drawings of dress, badges, etc., of Madras regiments.
2. A quantity of odds and ends of articles of dress, equipment, badges, etc., of Madras regiments. (Such of these as can be identified have been sorted into separate covers, by regiments).
3. 1 lot drawings of breast plates, Madras regiments.

<sup>1</sup> "Imperial Library" was changed to Imperial Record Department by No. 63 A.D. Camp, Government of India, Army Department, Fort William, 22nd February, 1911.



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On February 23rd, 1911, Dr. E. Denison Ross, the Officer in charge of the Records of the Government of India, addressed to the Asiatic Society of Bengal the seven papers detailed above under "Documents."

Our Society was anxious to have the "Documents" edited. Accordingly, Mr. G. H. Tipper, our then Honorary Secretary, deciphered some of them, but he had not completed the work when he joined the Indian Army Reserve. Recently, Mr. Stanley Kemp, who has been several times our Honorary Secretary, heard of these papers, and, on my offering him my help, he invited me to edit them.

As a search into the most likely books, such as S. C. Hill's *Bengal in 1756-57* (3 vols.), C. R. Wilson's *Old Fort William in Bengal* (2 vols.), his *Early Annals of the English in Bengal* (3 tomes), and H. Davidson Love's *Vestiges of Old Madras, 1640-1800* (3 vols.), shows that these papers were unknown heretofore, we publish them here in their chronological order. The works just mentioned furnish the historical setting and dispense us from further comment.

#### DOCUMENT I.

*Copy of a Letter from Colonel Clive to Admiral Watson  
(Calcutta, 24th February 1757).<sup>1</sup>*

SIR,

[P. 1.]

I should be wanting in my Duty to the President and Council of Madrass if I was not to return you thanks in their Names for the eminent Service you have rendered the East India Company in this Province; Services of such a Nature as will be remembered<sup>2</sup> as long as there is an India Company subsisting in England.

The Honorable peace lately concluded with the Nabob of Bengal ratified in the most firm & sacred Manner and the Certainty of a Neutrality with the French Guaranteed by him will I make no doubt put the Company's Affairs upon the securest footing in these parts and I am persuaded that attention you have hitherto bestowed on India in General will induce you not to forget the Company's Interest on the Coast. It is not impossible, Sir, but the Dispatches sent by the 20 Gun Ship, may countermand those lately received at the Coast, this seems to be the Opinion of the President and Committee of Fort St. George. It is not unlikely but a French Squadron may already be arrived there, [in such case?] I must confess I shall be under Great Concern for the consequences. All the Company's extensive & valuable Acquisitions run the Risque of being

[P. 2.]

<sup>1</sup> Two leaves  $12\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$  inches.

<sup>2</sup> Si.



taken from them, for the want of your Squadron and the large Reinforcement of Military sent from the coast for the Recovery of the Company's Rights & Privileges in this Kingdom.

Give me leave therefore in the Name of the united East India Company to desire the.... .<sup>1</sup> of all the Assistance you can possibly spare the Gentlemen on the Coast of Chormandell.

[P. 3.] My instructions from the President and Committee, desire I will apply to you for//a Passage for some of the [re]turning Force. Should you therefore think proper to send any of the Squadron upon the Coast, give me leave to make this application.

I am,

Sir, with the greatest Respect,

CALCUTTA: Your most obedient hum. Serv<sup>t</sup>.

24th Feby. 1757. ROBERT CLIVE.

CHARLES WATSON, Esqre., &c., &c.

[Endorsement]: N. 4. Copy of Letter from / Colo<sup>1</sup> Clive to Adml. Watson / to be entd. in Comm. 18th Apr. / Entd. / Charles Floyer / S. L. Douglas.<sup>2</sup>

## DOCUMENT II.

*Copy of Admiral Watson's answer to Col. Clive  
(Fort William, 27th February 1757).<sup>3</sup>*

[P. 1.]

SIR,

Being in the midst of my Dispatches for Europe when I had the Favour of your Letter of the 24th Inst., and since having been taken up with the Deputies from Chandinagor I have been prevented doing myself the Pleasure of thanking you sooner for the Opinion you are pleased to entertain of the Service his Majesty's Squadron has been of to the Company's Affairs in this Province. If my mite has contributed anything to their.....<sup>4</sup> I am well pleased: But I cannot think their Affairs here are on so secure a footing yet as to be able to part with any of that Force brought here for their Relief and Protection without its being attended with very ill consequences to the Settlement; and from the Opinion of everybody here, I believe they woud<sup>5</sup> be in as much danger of being driven out again as ever they were if the Squadron and Troops were to go

<sup>1</sup> One word illegible.

<sup>2</sup> S. J. Douglas? S. P. Douglas?

<sup>3</sup> Two leaves 12½ x 7½ inches.

<sup>4</sup> One word illegible. Probably: success.

<sup>5</sup> Sic.

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out of the River, before // every Article of the Peace was fulfill'd  
and their Fortifications put into a better Posture of Defence.

[P. 2.]

The Apprehensions you are under for the Compy.'s Settlements on the Coast are so very different from the Opinion of the Governor and Council at Madrass; that I cannot help sending you an Extract of their Letter to me in Answer to representations I made them relating to their Settlement if the whole Squadron should proceed on this Expedition and a French Squadron arrive in my absence. They say:

" We are obliged for your Representations of our Situation here; we have seriously reflected on the Subject, we shall leave ourselves with a Garrison sufficient for our Ground, and with the Rise of [a ?] Fortifications cannot say that we fear even an Enemy [as ?] powerful as has been represented to us from Europe."

From such an opinion founded too after a Serious Reflection on their Situation I can have no good great Reason to suppose they have need of any Assistance from // this Squadron. However give me leave to assure you if everything here was settled in the manner you represent, there was also a possibility of getting the large ships ready to go out of the River this Season, and I tho<sup>t</sup> my Appearance at Madrass would be of service to the Company I would with Pleasure proceed there. But considering the time of Year and the Condition of the Squadron, it is now become impossible to get the necessary Repairs done to enable them to proceed to the Coast, and the Imprudence of such a step.....<sup>1</sup> before the Neutrality was firmly se(ttled) with the French, would be the height of Folly, it being so far from a certainty that such a Treaty will be concluded that the Council at Chandernagore are not invested with Powers to settle it.

[P. 3.]

I believe I shall have occasion to send the twenty Gun Ship and Sloop to Madrass very soon, if you have any commands to the coast that I can comply with, I will gladly give their Captains orders accordingly.

I am,

Sir,

FORT WILLIAM. Your most obedient humble Servant,

27th Feby. 1757.

CHAS. WATSON.

To COL<sup>L</sup> CLIVE.

[Endorsement]: No. 5, Copy of Admirl. Watson's / Answer to Colo<sup>l</sup> Clive / To be entd. in Comm. 18th Apr. / Entd. Charles Floyer / S. L. Douglas./ <sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Two words illegible.

<sup>2</sup> S. J. Douglas ? S. P. Douglas ?



## DOCUMENT III.

[P. 1.] *List of French Ships at the Cape and Mauritius in February, 1759.<sup>1</sup>*

			<i>At the Cape.</i>	<i>Men.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>
Illustre, King's Ship	..	De Ruis	..	600	64
Fortune	..	De L'Obry	..	600	64
Centaur	..	De Surville Ancié	..	650	66
Duc D'Orleans	..	De Surville Cadet	..	500	60
Vengeur	..	Palliere	..	500	64
Condé	..	Rosbo	..	336	50
Achilles, King's ship	..	Mariniere	..	..	64
Syren	Do.	Frigate.	..	..	32
Zephir	Do.	do.	Le Grass	..	30
Renommé, Frigate	..	St. Martin	..	100	18
Balleine	..	dela Londe	Vessels of burthen called Flutes of 145 feet keel carrying 130 Men each, and have ports for 30 guns on one Deck.		
Chameau	..	Ommeral			
Elephant	..	Wincelaus			
Hermione	..	Murphy			
Penelope	..	Iremogen			
Grantham, Prize	..	..			

*At Mauritius.*

			<i>Guns.</i>
Minotaur, King's Ship	..	L'Aiguille chef d'Escadre	..
Actif	Do.	Beauchain	..
Zodiaque	Do.	D'Aché, Lieut <sup>t</sup> -General	..
Comte de Provence	..	La Chaise	..
Duc de Bourgogne	..	Bouvet	..
St. Louis	..	Johannes	..
Moras	..	Begdeloire	..
Sylphide	..	Marian	..

[P. 2.] Argenson, the same as the Condé (at Madagascar) Sechelle and Duc de Berry are also at the Island, but unmann'd.

The Condé is said to be intended for an Hospital Ship, the Moras being old to be laid up, and the Vengeur in a bad Condition.

The Men & Guns in the above Account are agreeable [sic] to the List [?] deliverd to the Dutch upon the Arrival of the Ships at the Cape. They have many more Men on board than their Complement which they sent them to be Victualled as Provisions were exceedingly Scarce at the Island.

Jonathan Melling, Mate of the Betsy, a Guinea-ship taken

<sup>1</sup> Two leaves, each 12 x 7½ inches.

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by the Fortune and Argenson on their Passage to India, on the 16 March 1758, declares that as many men as possible were turned over from the Ships at the Islands on board those sent to the Cape, and that he judges there could not be more than 1600 men left on board//the different ships at the Islands which were preparing to careen and that they had besides only . . .<sup>1</sup> marines. The Ships at the Cape were not expected to get Careen'd so as to get up on the coast in Time.

[P.3.]

The Penelope sail'd from the Cape to the Islands the latter end of Janry.—and the Chameau, Hermione and Elephant the 10th Febry. loaded with Corn, Wine, &c<sup>a</sup>.

The Achilles, King's ship, with the Syren and Zephir, Frigates, left Brest the 14th Octr. 1758 and arrived at the Cape the 15th Janry. 1759 where they Victualled with great Expedition and sail'd from thence the 17th Febry. They are supposed to be intended for a cruising Squadron, their Destination not being known, Mr. de la Mariniere, the Commander, having seal'd Orders which were to be open'd 15 Leagues to the Westward of the Cape. It was also Reported that the French expect further the Brilliant of 64 Guns & two more Ships. There are no certain Accounts of any Reinforcement of Land Forces being arrived at the Islands.

[Endorsement on the back of the second leaf]: Account of the French / Squadron destin'd for India / in 1759. /

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<sup>1</sup> Number illegible.

## DOCUMENT IV.

[P. 1.]      *A General Abstract of the English Prisoners at Pondicherry.<sup>1</sup>*  
 [8th March 1759].

[P. 1.]      A GENERAL ABSTRACT OF THE ENGLISH PRISONERS AT  
 PONDICHERRY.

	1 Serjeant-Major.	Fort St. David, Viza-gapm., & Chettipett.
	34 Serjeants.	
	27 Corporals.	
	2 Drum Majors.	
	2 Drummers.	
	210 Centinels.	
Train.	7 Serjeants.	
	3 Corporals.	
	7 Bombardiers.	
	10 Gunners.	
Pensioners.	39 Matrosses.	
	10 Serjeants.	
	5 Corporals.	
	46 Centinels.	
	1 Bombardier.	
	2 Gunners.	
	3 Matrosses.	
Supernumerary.	5	
	1 Serjeant-Major.	
	4 Serjeants.	
	5 Corporals.	
	90 Centinels.	
	1 Topas.	Madrass, &c.
	1 Carpenter.	
	516	
166	Officers & Seamen belonging to His Majesty's late Ships.....isyr [?]..... upon. <sup>2</sup>	
15	Seamen taken on the Coast of Guinea.	
TOTAL ..	697	

Pondicherry, 8th March 1759.  
*GEO. DAWSON.*

N.B.—Casualties since the Month of November not Included.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Two leaves, 14½ x 10 inches. Second leaf blank.

<sup>2</sup> Illegible. What appears to be the names of 2 or 3 ships.

<sup>3</sup> Endorsement on p. 4 illegible; paper pasted over it



DOCUMENT V.

*List of English and French Prisoners exchanged  
[29th July 1759]<sup>1</sup>*

PRISONNIERS ANGLOIS.

PRISONNIERS FRANCOIS

(P. L.)

Messieurs.

Morse	..	..	Denis.
Dawson	..	..	Panou. <sup>2</sup>
Smith	..	..	Dorée. <sup>3</sup>
Thomas Minchin	..	..	Ferriere.
John Blake	..	..	Sainé.*
Richard Garnour	..	..	Deshave.
Creuzé mort en juillet 1758 échangé en 8bre suivant contre Mr. Ballandine. Son échange devenant nul doit avoir lieu pour un autre et peut être accepté pour Mr.	..	..	De St. Martin.
			a Pondichery Le 29 Juillet 1759.
			Duval De Leyrit

[Endorsement]: Act of Exchange. / Reced. with Mr. Lally's /  
Letter dated 3rd Sep<sup>r</sup>. 1759./

<sup>1</sup> Two leaves, 12 x 7½ inches; second leaf blank.

<sup>2</sup> Panon ? The wife of one J. J. Panon died at Patna, year unknown  
(Patna Cathedral Inscriptions).

<sup>3</sup> Dorés ?                          \* Lainé.

## DOCUMENT VI.

P. 1.] *List of French Prisoners at Fort St. George, October 10th, 1759.<sup>1</sup>*

1. Bellehumeur,	Serjeant.	27. Lisle D'amour,	Centinel.
2. Beaucard,	Voluntier.	28. Econe,	Do.
3. Lachaux,	Trooper.	29. Orleans,	Do.
4. Merville,	Do.	30. La Tulipe,	Do.
5. Gasterpold,	Hussar.	31. Sans Soucis,	Do.
6. Kayzeley,	Do	32. St. Leger,	Do.
7. Perrick,	Do.	33. La Sagesse,	Do.
8. Vincent,	Do.	34. La Tendresse,	Do.
9. Posse,	Do.	35. Belle Rose,	Do.
10. Frantz,	Do.	36. Carlx,	Do.
11. La Violette,	Centinel.	37. Le Beaux,	Do.
12. Vaqueville,	Do.	38. Alexandre,	Do.
13. Piquar,	Do.	39. Foy,	Coffrey.
14. Le Cadre,	Do.	40. Lorent,	Topass.
15. La Pauruve,	Do.	<i>Abstract.</i>	
16. Berger,	Do.	1 Serjeant.	
17. Boy Sant Soif,	Do.	1 Voluntier.	
18. Belle Etoille,	Do.	2 Troopers.	
19. Courgeron,	Do.	6 Hussars.	
20. Delorier,	Do.	28 Centinels.	
21. Lapidaire,	Do.	1 Coffrey.	
22. Renboury,	Do.	1 Topass.	
23. Il Vidieu,	Do.	—	
24. Navains,	Do.	<i>Total 40 [changed to] 37.<sup>2</sup></i>	
25. Luxus,	Do.		
26. Blaing,	Do.		

(P. 4.)

[Endorsement]: List of French Prisoners / at Madras / sent with the President's / Letter to Mr. Lally / dated 10th October 1759. /

<sup>1</sup> Two leaves,  $14\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{1}{2}$ ; the second blank. We have put numbers before the names Nos. 12, 13, 38 are struck out.

<sup>2</sup> The number 40 is crossed out and 37 substituted, but corresponding corrections have not been made in the detailed numbers shown in the abstract.

## DOCUMENT VII.

Four folio leaves,  $16\frac{1}{2} \times 11$  inches : title-page elaborately engrossed.

[Title-page] : Etat / Des Prisonniers Anglais / Détenus dans Les Prisons / Du Fort Louis / A Pondichery : [P. 2 blank.]

Etat des Prisonniers / Anglais détenus dans / Les prisons [P. 3.] de Pondichery./

 SCA VOIR.<sup>1</sup>

## TROUPES DE ROY.

1. Richard Aleau, Sergent.
2. Jean Berge, Sergent.
3. James Rotekeind, Capl.
4. Jean Storé.
5. Thomas Eekesse.
6. Edouard Clak.
7. Martin Steller.
8. Thomas Hessenne.
9. Jean Jauberton.
10. William Flaite.
11. Robert.
12. Nicolas dejousse.
13. James chizette.
14. James Woalede.
15. Benjamin Sader.
16. Mathieu honjoue.

17. Samuel Crosse.
18. Ricard Cortesse.
19. James Meloc.
20. Jean Robinson.
21. Joseph Robinson
22. Daniel Angliche.
23. William Denis.
24. Francis Matesse.
25. Jean Guillaume.

## ARTILLERIE.

26. Jacques Merisy, Sergent.
27. William Ritchelle.
28. Robert Nol.
29. James Gris.
30. Daniel Brond.
31. William Selisse.

<sup>1</sup> We have put a number near each of the names and we add here under them alternative readings. Many of the names are difficult to read. We make a guess at the proper spelling of some of the names. Many are baffling: they look more like French, Breton or Dutch than English.

1. Alcan ? 3. Rotekemd ? 5. Tekesse ? Zekesse ? 6. For Clark ?  
 15. Sadler ? 19. Melou ? For Mallock ? 22. For English ? 30. Brond ?  
 Brand ? 34. For Baker ? 42. Merne ? 44. For Watt ? 45. Probably  
 Robinson is intended. 47. Brauson ? 49. Guerine ? 50. McHugh ?  
 intended. 52. Macquiniezé ? 55. For Oliver ? 56. For Woollett ?  
 57. For Day ? 58. Waten ? 59. Kenue ? 60. Brice ? intended.  
 63. Hamilton ? intended. 64. Kichener ? intended. 65. For Drew ?  
 66. Hallam ? intended. 68. Kervaylé ? 72. Moore ? intended. 74.  
 Howell ? intended. 79. Marsann ? 84. Gaesse ? 85. Brahou ? Brahon ?  
 86. For Smith ? 87. For Taylor ? 88. Fudeles ? Fredeles ? 89. For  
 Camel ? 93. For Chandler ? 94. For Dean ? 98. Voldiguié. 100.  
 Saouse ? For Youd ? 105. For Bellamy ? 106. For Davies ? 107. For  
 Anderson ? 113. For Richard ? 114. Benegraus ? 118. Bron ? 119.  
 Soleq ? 121. Boulimune ? 122. Micaut ? 124. Heltem ? 126. For  
 Good ? 127. Honbres ? 128. Tornem ? 135. For Valentine ? 140.  
 Melev ? 146. Calvere ? for Calvert ? 156. Lams ? for Lamb or Lambs ?  
 157. James probably for the Christian name. 167 and 169. For Ander-  
 son ? 170. For Hallam ? 173. For Jardine ? 174. Matekjf ? Mateksf ?  
 184. For Wilford ? 185. Houlrodre ? Honbrodre ?

- 32. Jacob Chehatenne.
- 33. Samuel Zeller.
- 34. Jean Beker(s).
- 35. Jacob Desso.

[P. 4.]      TROUPPES DE COMPAGNIE.

- 36. John Guillo.
- 37. Thomas Pau.
- 38. Thomas Woeles.
- 39. Jean Carete.
- 40. Georges Stamere.
- 41. Georges Zamsen.
- 42. William Merue.
- 43. William Senne.
- 44. Alexandre Ouatte  
[Oualle?]
- 45. Thomas Rabincon.
- 46. Samire Dare.
- 47. Joseph Branson.
- 48. Jean Randelou.
- 49. James Guerme.
- 50. Jean Maguene.
- 51. William Imisse.
- 52. Jean Macquinieré.
- 53. Jean Forbroacq.
- 54. Benjamin Barjet.
- 55. Jean Olevé.
- 56. Jean Wolette.
- 57. Johan Daij.
- 58. Georges Waten.
- 59. Adjonas Kenne.
- 60. Thomas Briuce, mort.

FUSILIERS.

- 61. James Valer.
- 62. Abraham Baterosse.
- 63. Henry Emelton.
- 64. Mathieu Kechenauu.
- 65. Nicolas Droo.
- 66. William Halem.
- 67. Richard Frost.
- 68. Thomas Kerdaglé.
- 69. Jean Brand.
- 70. Jean Guillaume.
- 71. Jean Gaspard Habicq.
- 72. Jean Moere.
- 73. Alexandre Laly.
- 74. Thomas Hoelle.

- |          |                         |
|----------|-------------------------|
| Sergens. | 75. Samuel May.         |
|          | 76. Jean Redek.         |
|          | 77. Samuel Youlse.      |
|          | 78. Guillaume Rao.      |
|          | 79. Joseph Marsaun.     |
|          | 80. Thomas tabré.       |
|          | 81. Thomas Michel.      |
|          | 82. Jean Prainne.       |
|          | 83. William Halem.      |
|          | 84. Thomas Guesse.      |
|          | 85. Jean Brazon.        |
|          | 86. André Smath         |
|          | 87. William Teller.     |
|          | 88. Georges Fredelee.   |
|          | 89. Jean Camole.        |
|          | 90. Jean Philippe.      |
|          | 91. James Melbé.        |
|          | 92. Jean Fros.          |
|          | 93. Georges Choudelour. |
|          | 94. Edouard dienne.     |
|          | 95. James Brekner.      |
|          | 96. Yanne Mahon.        |
|          | 97. Thomas Lagouelle.   |
|          | 98. Jean Voldiquié.     |
|          | 99. William Kedelec.    |
|          | 100. Thomas Jaoude.     |
|          | 101. André Morte.       |
|          | 102. Charles Revenel.   |
|          | 103. Thomas Quebenne.   |
|          | 104. Ante. Cheamen.     |
|          | 105. Jean Belomé        |
|          | 106. Robert Devisse.    |
|          | 107. Jean Andresson.    |
|          | 108. Samuel Gestenne.   |
|          | 109. Robert Smith.      |
|          | 110. Jean Bameesse.     |
|          | 111. Thomas Guiemsel.   |
|          | 112. Thomas Spouly.     |
|          | 113. Richer Herouade.   |
|          | 114. James Benegraur.   |
|          | 115. Richard d'Artemie. |
|          | 116. Georges Chapette.  |
|          | 117. William Tauson.    |
|          | 118. James Brou.        |
|          | 119. Thomas Fbleq.      |
|          | 120. Jacob Cheloume.    |
|          | 121. Jean Boulimusse.   |
|          | 122. Thomas Micaur.     |
|          | 123. Thomas Demonte.    |

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- |                        |                              |
|------------------------|------------------------------|
| 124. Thomas Hettem.    | 158. Charles Fine.           |
| 125. Jean Mayelle.     | 159. David Houecq.           |
| 126. Ante. Goude.      | 160. Jean Prete.             |
| 127. Jean Houbres.     | 161. Kautilen Smith.         |
| 128. Jean Torneuv.     | 162. Jean Wohette.           |
| 129. Robert Beché.     | 163. Thomas Partiton.        |
| 130. Jean Wiliam.      | 164. Thomas Chinqueme.       |
| 131. Wiliam Hequemam.  | 165. Leopol desse.           |
| 132. Kovard Devé.      | 166. Michel Waldenne.        |
| 133. William Nape.     | 167. Jean Andreson.          |
| 134. Richard Valinton. | 168. Thomas Fox.             |
| 135 Charles Nit.       | 169. Jean Andreson.          |
| 136. Thomas Smith.     | 170. William Halem.          |
| 137. Games Stoker.     | 171. Jean Fiederhard.        |
| 138. Jean Deeson.      | 172. James Saess.            |
| 139. Barny Kraneston.  | 173. Robert Jardenne.        |
| 140. Jean Melev.       | 174. Barny Matekf.           |
| 141. William Lucas.    | 175. Guillaume Repingal.     |
| 142. Jallux Not.       | 176. Richard Tournem.        |
| 143. Johan Berchette.  | 177. Thomas Michel.          |
| 144. Karvé Halbode.    | 178. Jean Grosse.            |
| 145. Martin Hiouque.   | 179. David Grains.           |
| 146. Richard Calveve.  | 180. Thomas Wopx.            |
| 147. Barbe Stine.      | 181. Thomas Skenne.          |
| 148. Jean Dresson.     | 182. Guillaume Stané.        |
| 149. Chretiens Stophé. | 183. Binjamin Pieter.        |
| 150. Jean Crafo.       | 184. Hervé Wilforte.         |
| 151. André Auké.       | 185. Jean Georges Houbradic. |
| 152. William Bevesse.  | 186. Jacob Desso.            |
| 153. Charles Stamesse. | 187. Jean Deve.              |
| 154. Jeremaé Stenne.   | 188. Conderan Spenerqueke.   |
| 155. William More.     | 189. Alexandre Courmier.     |
| 156. Jacques Lanes.    | 190. Thomas Pour Dieu.       |
| 157. Jaur Fines.       |                              |

#### RECAPITULATION.

##### TROUPPES DE ROY.

Sergens	..	..	..	..	2
Caporal	..	..	..	..	2
Fusiliers	..	..	..	..	22

##### TROUPPES DE COMPAGNIE.

Sergens	..	..	10		
Caporaux	..	..	15	dont 1 de mort.	
Fusiliers	..	..	130	..	155



ARTILLERIE.

Sergens .. ..	1
Canonniers .. ..	9 .. 10
Total général : 190 hommes. <sup>1</sup>	

[P. S.]

[Endorsement] : List / English Prisoners / at Pondichery / Reced. with M. Lally's Letter / of the 23rd Octr. 1759.

<sup>1</sup> We reach a total of 191. Thus : Troupes de Roy : 2 sergeants, 1 corporal, 22 others (total 25); Troupes de Compagnie : 10 sergeants, 15 corporals, 130 fusiliers (total 155); Artillerie : 1 sergeant, 10 others (total 11); grand total : 191.

## 18. Note on the Ta'rikh Salātīn Afgāhinah.

By H. BEVERIDGE, I.C.S. (Retired).

Ahmad Yādgār's history of the Afghān Kings of Delhi and Agra has been described by Elliot and Dowson at the beginning of vol. V of their History of India. There is a modern and undated copy of the work in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, MS. No. 137, and this appears to be the only one in existence.<sup>1</sup>

In his preface, Ahmed Yādgār says he wrote his book at the suggestion of a king whom he calls Bādshāh 'Ālampanāh Abu'l-Muẓaffar Dāūd Shāh. This has been taken to mean the young and dissipated son of Sulaimān Karrānī of Patna, and the last of the Afghān princes of Bengal. He was defeated and put to death in July, 1576. But the titles are rather grandiose for a prince who had so short and inglorious a reign. The magnificent titles might not be out of place if Ahmad Yādgār wrote as a bigoted partizan of the Afghāns, but this is not the case, for his sympathies seem to be with Bābur and his descendants. And this would be natural, for his father was in the service of Humāyūn's brother Mirzā 'Askarī. He tells us that he wrote his book because the histories of Minhājad-diñ Jurjānī and Ziyā-i-Barnī were discussed at an interview he had with the king, and that the latter remarked to him that no one

<sup>1</sup> The Imperial Library (Bohar collection), however, possesses a complete copy of the work. The Imperial Library copy (MS. 3887) comprises 198 folios and is written in ordinary *ta'līq* by one 'Abd al-Rahmān. It is free from the errors of spelling I have noticed in the Asiatic Society's copy and is a better copy than that in our possession.

Like our copy it begins thus :—

شکر و سپاس و احباب الوجود دے را سزد - الخ

The concluding words are :—

بدهست هزار شمشیر بوان اندخته سور از تن نایاک او جدا ساختند - تمام شد - الكاتب فدوی عبد الرحمن \*

Spaces for headings and insertion of introductory words like *شعر* ( verse ), *حکایت* ( story ), etc. are left blank throughout.

The passage containing the *raison d'être* of the work runs thus :—

گہ دوزے در معنف همایون دادشاه عالم پناہ ابوالظفر داؤد شاہ - الخ

I feel no doubt that the word *humāyūn* in the above passage is an adjective meaning 'auspicious,' etc., and cannot mean, as suggested by a distinguished Orientalist, the Emperor Humāyūn.—*Philological Secretary.*

had written the history of the Afghān princes who had sat on the throne of Delhi from the time of Amānat Khān (?), and that it would be good if Ahmed Yādgār would undertake such a work. The author adds that as he had long been a servant of the court, he felt bound to comply with the king's request, and so wrote the history of six kings, beginning with Bahlūl Lūdī. In fact, he has written the history of six Afghān kings, viz. Bahlūl, Sikandar, Ibrāhim, Shir Shāh, Islām Shāh and 'Adlī, but has interpolated, after the account of Ibrāhim, the history of Bābur and Humāyūn. He writes like a gossiping old man, and does not give the date of his composition, except in one place, p. 89b of MS., and there the text seems to be corrupt. He is describing the destruction of a tribe of Mundahārs and of their village in Pargana Kaithael in the year 935 A.H. (1528-29) by Bābur's officers, and says the place has remained a desert ever since though 160 years have elapsed since then. This would make the year of writing 1095 (935 + 160) or 1684 A.D. But such a date seems impossible, for in describing the reign of Humayun the author says that his (own) father was Mirzā 'Askari's vizier in the Gujarat campaign, that is, in 942-43 A.H. or 1536-37 A.D. The passage is at p. 99 of the MS. and is as follows: "*In Za'if az pidar-i-khud ke darān waqt wazīr-i-Mirzā 'Askari būd shunīda būdam'*" (It is worth noting that Professor Dowson never saw the passage in the original, see his note at p. 1 of vol. V, but obtained the reference from Mr. Blochmann.) At this time Ahmad Yādgār's father must have been a man approaching middle life, if not past it, and in all probability he was dead long before the end of the 16th century. And as Ahmad Yādgār was old enough to hear from his father about the Gujarat campaign of 1537, it is impossible that he could have been living and writing history more than a century after his father's death. For, as I have said, his father must have died considerably before the end of the 16th century (viz. 1570-80), and the 160 years spoken of by Ahmad Yādgār bring the date of writing down to 1684. Moreover, Dāūd Shāh was put to death in 984 (July 1576), and if he be the person who suggested the work, Ahmad could not have been alive and writing history in 1684. Of course, it would be still more impossible if Ahmad's interlocutor was Humāyūn, for he was killed in January, 1556. Dāūd Shāh died, as we have seen, in 1576, but the conversation may have taken several, if not many, years before and when Dāūd was only a younger son of Sulaimān. And it is to be presumed that Ahmad Yādgār did not long delay to comply with a royal request. It will be seen from Professor Dowson's note at p. 42 of vol. V that he saw the difficulty about the 160 years, and remarked, "if this be correct, the date of the composition of this work is later than has been supposed." There is a difficulty caused by Ahmad Yādgār's reference to the

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*Note on the Ta'rikh Salāṭīn Afāqhinah.*

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Tabaqāt Akbarī, the author of which did not die till 1003 A.H., 1595, though he may have been writing his history for many years previously. Ahmad Yādgār's references to and his copying from Nīzām-ud-dīn's history relate, I think, to the history of Humāyūn, and I would suggest that this history, which was no part of Daud Shah's suggestion, may have been added afterwards. However, whatever be the date of Ahmad Yādgār's history, he must, as his father's son, have had access to good sources of information. Perhaps, the most valuable part of his book is his account of the last two years of Bābur's reign. It supplements the Memoirs of Bābur, and also Ferishta and Abul-Fazl, for, as Professor Dowson remarks in a note to p. 42, there is no mention elsewhere of the expedition against the Mundāhirs. If we had not Ahmad Yādgār's work, we should not know that Bābur marched to Lahore in the third year after his accession, i.e. in 935, or that he met the Rajah of Kahlūr at Sirhind, and sent a punitive expedition against the Mundāhārs of Kaithal (in the Karnāl district).

## 19. Talcher Plate of Gayadatungadeva.

By R. D. BANERJI, M.A., Indian Museum, Calcutta.

(With Plates III—IV.)

This copper-plate was sent to me in March, 1911, by Mr. L. E. B. Cobden Ramsay, I.C.S., Political Agent, Orissa Feudatory States, in connection with the work of editing the posthumous works of the late Dr. T. Bloch, Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Eastern Circle. I found that the plate had not been seen by Dr. Bloch. According to the information supplied by Mr. Ramsay, the plate belongs to the Talcher State, and it has been edited by Babu Nāgendrānāth Vasu, Prāchya-vidyāmahārnava.<sup>1</sup>

The inscription is incised on a single plate of thick copper measuring  $5\frac{1}{2}'' \times 4''$  with a projection on the top to which is attached a seal, elliptical in shape, major axis measuring  $2\frac{1}{4}''$  and the minor  $1\frac{13}{16}''$ . The seal seems to be cast in some lighter metal, probably brass. The credit of discovering the first copper-plate inscription of Gayādatuṅgadēva, in very prosaic surroundings, belongs to Prof. Nilmani Chakravartti of the Presidency College, Calcutta, who found it in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. This inscription has been edited by Prof. Chakravartti in 1909.<sup>2</sup> The present inscription is much smaller than the Asiatic Society's plate and refers to the reign of the same king. The seal is identical with that of the Asiatic Society's plate, but the letters are no longer legible. On the top of the letters we have the crescent and below, the bull Nandi and a tree to its left. The inscription on the first side of the plate is almost identical with that on 11. 1-18 of the Asiatic Society's plate. It records the grant of a certain village made to three Brāhmaṇas by a king named Gayādatuṅgadeva, who claimed to have descended from the Tuṅga (Rāstrakūṭa?) family and belonged to the Sāndilya gotra. The family is said to have come from Rohitagiri, modern Rohtasgarh in the Shāhābād District of Bengal, which is mentioned in an inscription from the same locality, now in the Indian Museum as *Rohitāśva*.<sup>3</sup> Gayādatuṅga's titles are *Parama-māheśvara-samadhigata-*

<sup>1</sup> *The Archaeological Survey of Mayurbhanja*, Vol. I, pp. 152 ff., with plates.

<sup>2</sup> J. & P. A.S.B., Vol. V, p. 347.

<sup>3</sup> *Rohtas Inscription of the Tomara Mitrasena*—J.A.S.B., Vol. VIII, p. 695.

*pañchamahāśabda*,'' but he does not use Royal or Imperial titles. At the same time I must note that the mere mention of the Yamagarta *mandala* does not prove that he was a *Mandalādhipati*.<sup>1</sup> About the language and the genealogical portion of the inscription, I have but to reproduce the remarks of Prof. Chakravartti. The language is hopelessly corrupt Sanskrit. The inscription records the grant of the village of Vāmāitalla in the Tuñkerā *vishaya* to three Brāhmaṇas, viz., Devaśarma, son of Padama; Vṛśtideva, son of Llallada and his son Rāmadeva. Half of the village went to Devaśarma, one-fourth to Vṛśtideva and the remaining fourth to his son Rāmadeva. The family of Devaśarma had emigrated from the Varendra *mandala* of Bengal to the Odra *Vishaya* or more particularly from the Utharuthabhata village of the Varendra *mandala*. It should be noted in this connection that this is the first specific mention of the Varendra *mandala* in an inscription. Devaśarma was an inhabitant of the village of Sāvirabhata in the Odra *vishaya* and he belonged to the Kāśyapa gotra, the *pravaras* being Vātsāyana and Naidhruva. Evidently the first name of the *pravaras* of the Kāśyapa gotra, *Kāśyapa*, has been omitted. Devaśarma's grandfather was Dhanaśarma and his father Padama, and he was a student of the Kānva branch of the Yajūrvēda. Vṛśtideva was a student of the Kānva branch of the Yajūrvēda like Devaśarma, but he belonged to the Vātsya gotra. His father was Llallada and his grandfather Dhadukā, his family having emigrated from Sāvathi, i.e., Srāvasti. At the time of the grant they were inhabitants of the Yamagarta *mandala*. No special mention is made of Rāmadeva as it is apparent that he is a son of Vṛśtideva just mentioned. On palaeographical grounds the inscription may be referred to the eleventh century A.D. I edit the inscription from the original :—

### TEXT.

#### *First Side.*

- 1.—Om<sup>2</sup> svasti[1\*]Āva[d\*]dho[d\*]dhata dvipa-ganda-sthalagalad-avirala-ma.
- 2.—da-malita<sup>3</sup>-madhukarāvali-jha[m\*]kṛṇe (t-ai)ka-pradosāt = pravudha.<sup>4</sup>
- 3.—teya-vipra-varai Rik-sāma-yajur-vēda dhvanibhir =<sup>5</sup> nivaha-pra-
- 4.—tikrta-sakala-janapadāt <sup>6</sup> ānavarata-dvija-huta-hu—

<sup>1</sup> J & P. A.S.B., Vol. V, 1909, p. 348.

<sup>2</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>3</sup> Read *malina*.

<sup>4</sup> Read *praviddha-tejō-vipra-varair=rik*—.

<sup>5</sup> Read *dhanibhir=*.

<sup>6</sup> Read *padād=ana*—.

- 5.—ta-dhūma-samchayo<sup>1</sup>-prahasita-samasta-risi<sup>2</sup>-vāsakāt.  
 6. Mahāparvatābhidhāna-parvato-da (?) rindatā (?) tuṅga  
     narendrām—  
 7.—kita tano[h] Yamagarta maṇḍale gata-dūrvārārāti<sup>3</sup>  
     mā—  
 8.—dya [d] = dvirada-vara-ghatā-kumbha-pitha-prahāra-  
     vyālagna-muktā—  
 9.—phala nikara-karāl = āsi-dhārā sphuranti dṛishtvā bha-  
     gne  
 10.—nivārita prahasitavati yasyā<sup>4</sup> grāme bhumau sa Śr  
     (Srī).  
 11.—Gayādatunga prathita-prthu-yaśas = tuṅga-vamśād =  
     vabhūva sa—  
 12.—dviry =<sup>5</sup> āścarya-bhūto nija-bhuja-mahimō-rjita pu-  
     jitaśr (Srī)  
 13. rājā vānāryaśatro satatam = api-chalā niśchalā yasya-  
 14. lakshmi<sup>6</sup> Sāṁdilya-gotrād = utpan (n) a ROHITĀ-  
     GIRI nirga—  
 15.—ta rājā Śr (Srī) Jagattuṅga rūpa-virya<sup>7</sup> valānvita  
     tasyāñvaye.  
 16. Salāṇatuṅga Śr (Srī) mān = urjita-vikrama tasyā  
     vabhūva dha[rmma\*].  
 17. jñō dugdh = āvdher-iva chandramā [1] PARAMA-  
     MĀHESVARA-SAMADHI—  
 18. GATA-PAṄCHA-MAHĀSAVDA SRI-GAYĀDATUṄ-  
     GADEVA kus (ś)ali  
 19. Etan = maṇḍale-smina<sup>8</sup> bhāvino sāmanta-sāmavājini.  
 20.—jana janapadā yathāriha [m]<sup>9</sup> vodha[ya]ti kuṣa (śa)  
     laya-ty = ā—  
 21. disayati<sup>10</sup> cha veditam-astu bhavatām

### TEXT.

#### Second Side.

- 22.—Tuṅkerā vishaya samva[d]dha Vāmāitällo grāmoyam  
     cha—  
 23.—tu sima<sup>11</sup> paryanta Varendra-maṇḍale Mutharutha-  
     bhata grāma.  
 24.—vinirgata Odra-vishaye Sāvirabhatā grāma vāstavya  
     Kā—  
 25.—śa (śya) pa gotra Vatsyāyana<sup>12</sup>. Naidhruva-pravara  
     Yajūrved = āchara—  
 26.—na Kanva—śākhādhyāyina<sup>13</sup> bhataputra Devaśarma  
     Padama su—

<sup>1</sup> Read —samchay-śprahasita-samastarsi-vāsakān.

<sup>2</sup> Read Rshi.

<sup>3</sup> Read dūrvārārāti.

<sup>4</sup> Read yasya.

<sup>5</sup> Read Sad-virya.

<sup>6</sup> Read Laksmih

<sup>7</sup> Read virya.

<sup>8</sup> Read °smin

<sup>9</sup> Read yathāriha.

<sup>10</sup> Read ādiśati.

<sup>11</sup> Read Catuh-simā.

<sup>12</sup> Read Vātsyāyina.

<sup>13</sup> Read °dhyāyine.

- 27.—ta Dhanaśarma naptre grāmordha amśa Sāvathi vinir-gata Ya—  
 28.—magarta-maṇḍala-vāstavya Vastyā<sup>1</sup> gotra pañch-ārsha prava—  
 29.—ra Yajūr-vedācharana Kānva<sup>2</sup>śākhādhyāyina<sup>3</sup> bhaṭa-pu—  
 30.—tra Vṛṣtideva<sup>4</sup> Llallada-suta Dhadukā naptre amśa cha—  
 31.—turtha māla bhaṭaputra Vṛṣtidevasuta<sup>5</sup> Rāmadeva—  
 32.—amśa chaturtha māla triṇodaka rūpya 40 chatvāri—  
 33.—aṅke rūpya 40,4 tāmbraśāṣani<sup>6</sup>-kṛtya prada [t] to-s [mā]—  
 34.—bhi [h] yāva [ch] chandrārka-tārakā achaṭabhat-āpravesa sva—  
 35.—dātā paradatam = vā<sup>7</sup> yo harati<sup>8</sup> vasundharā<sup>9</sup> sa vishth [ā]—  
 36.—yām kṛimi [r\*] bhutvā pitṛibhi [h\*] saha pachyate iti.

NOTE.—Māla seems to mean high or cultivable land; cf. Bloch in J.A.S.B., Vol. V, 1909, p. 348, for other mentions of the word in inscriptions.

#### TRANSLATION.

Om, Svasti. From the mountain entitled *Mahāparvata*, having many valleys, with its body marked by the Kings of the Tuṅga dynasty, (where) the evenings are made to resound with the hum of bees, dirtied by the temporal juice constantly flowing from the cheek of elephants, newly captured and (for that reason) restive; where all the towns have been fully purified by the sound of the Rk, Sāma and Yajur-vedas (proceeding) from great Brāhmaṇas, whose spiritual power has been awakened, where all the residences of the sages had been made smiling by the accumulation of smoke (!!!) arising from constant offerings of clarified butter, to the fire, by the twice-born.<sup>10</sup> When the Yamagartta *mandala* was destroyed at the sight of the flash of swordblades, bristling with pearls adhering to it (at the time of) striking hard on the head of mighty and restive elephants of the invincible enemy that are no more.<sup>11</sup>

In the lands of a village smiling after the conquest, from the family of the Tuṅgas, whose great fame spread from Gayā-datunga, was born the illustrious King Jagattuṅga, who came from the Rohita mountain and who belonged to the Sāndilya *gotra*, whose great prowess was wondered at (i.e., was a subject of wonder), whose prosperity was honoured as it was acquired by the greatness of his own prowess, who held five long and

<sup>1</sup> Read *Vātsya*.

<sup>2</sup> Read *Kānva*.

<sup>3</sup> Read <sup>°</sup>dh āyine.

<sup>4</sup> Read *Vṛṣtideva*.

<sup>5</sup> Read *Vṛṣtideva*.

<sup>6</sup> Read *tāmrāśasanī*.

<sup>7</sup> Read *Sva-dattām* *paradattām*.

<sup>8</sup> Read *haret*.

<sup>9</sup> Read *vasundharām*. <sup>10</sup> This sentence is not complete.

<sup>11</sup> This sentence also is incomplete.

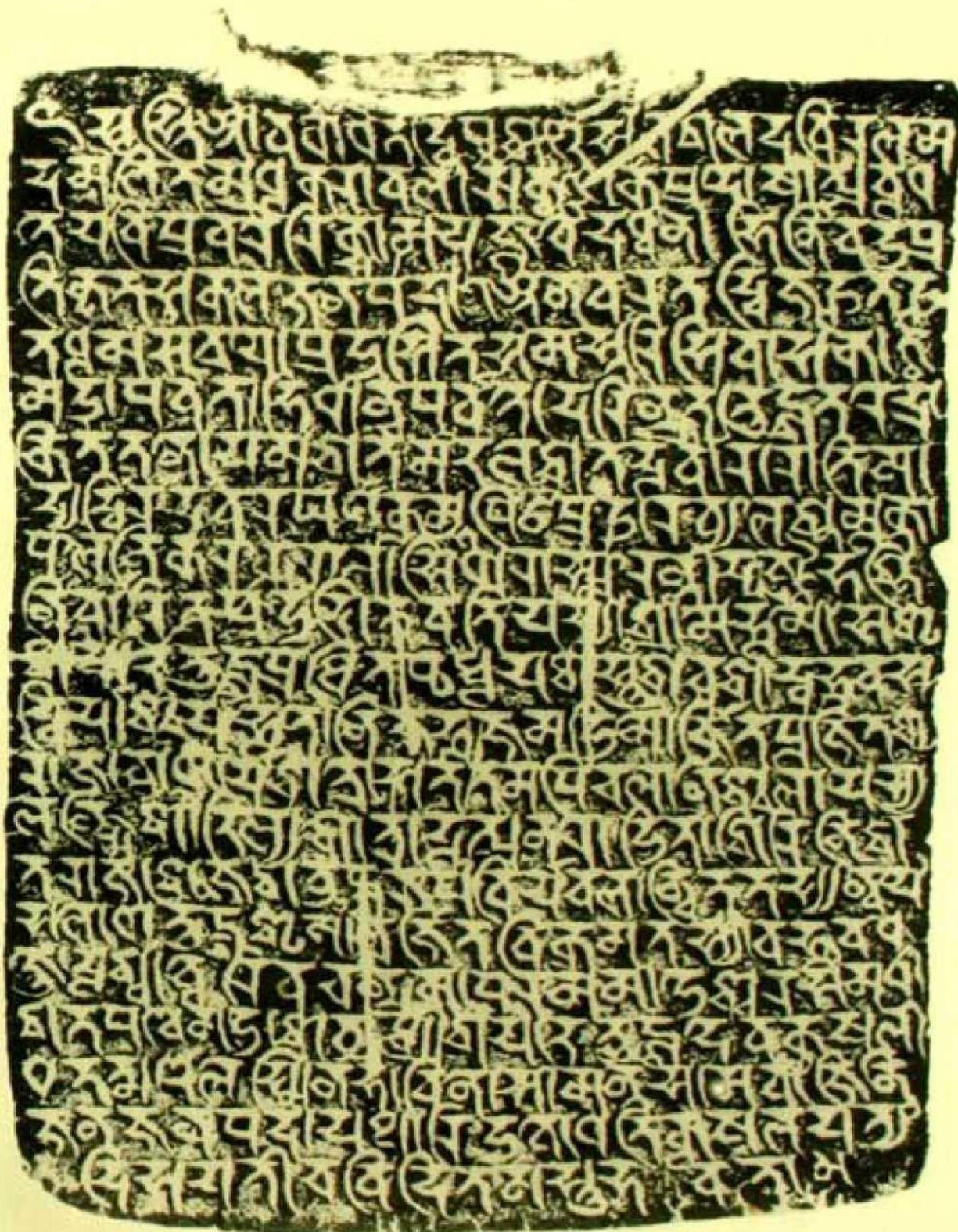
1916.]

*Talcher Plate of Gayadatungadeva.*

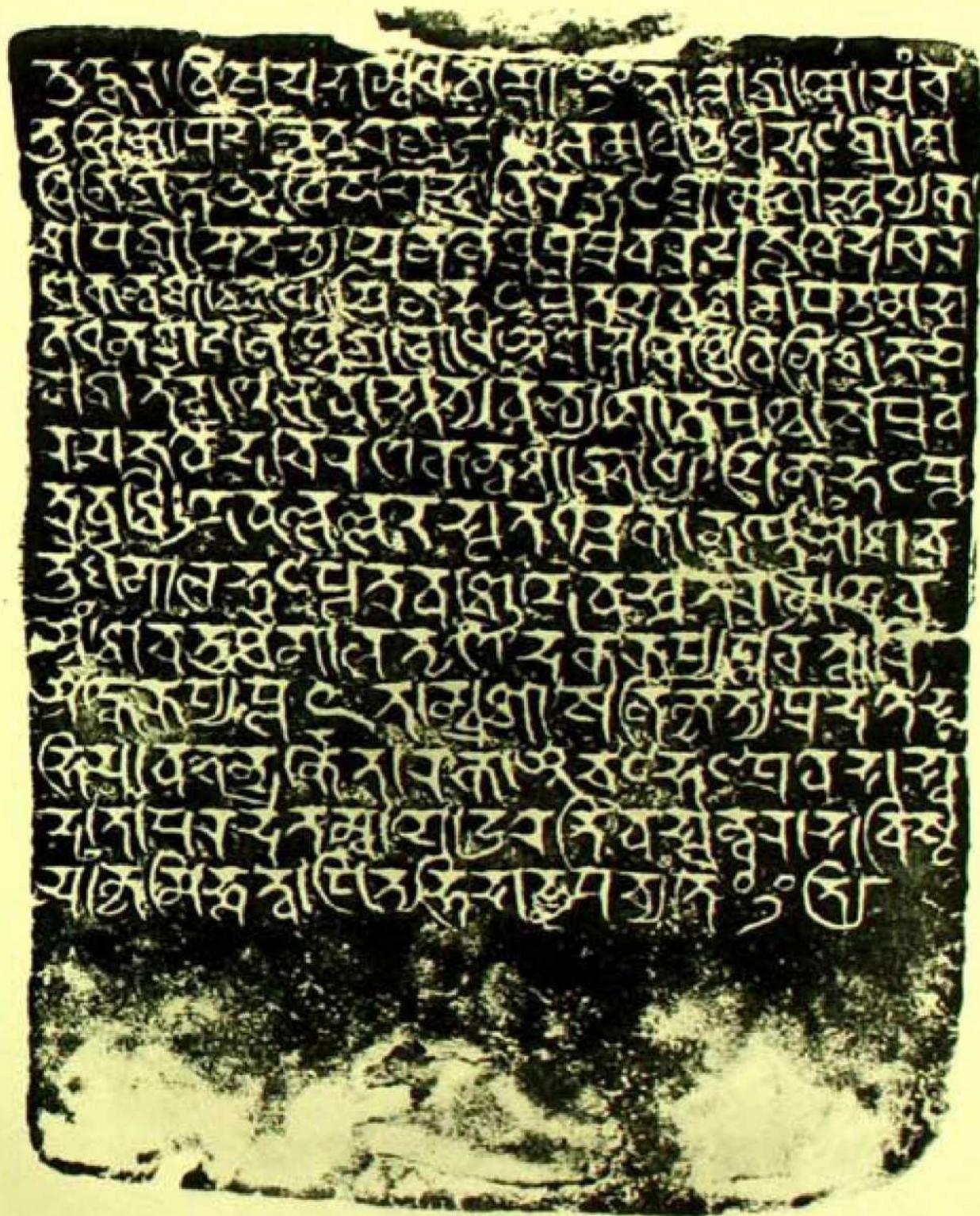
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honoured sessions of sacrifices, and in whose case fortune, though fickle (in the case of others), was steady. In his family, possessed of beauty, prowess and strength (was born) Salāpanatunga; from him was born the illustrious and prosperous Gayādatunga, the devout worshipper of Siva, who had acquired the five great sounds, whose prowess was brilliant, who was proficient in law, who, like the moon, was born in the ocean of milk.

In this *mandala*, the future feudatories of the towns, whose people.....conquered are being made to understand, according to their rank, are asked about their health, and ordered that: Be it known to you (that) this village of Vāmāitalla up to its four boundaries attached to the Tuṅkerā *visaya* (is being given) half of the village to Bhataputra Devaśarma, an emigrant from the village of *Mutharutha*, in the Vārendra *mandala*, an inhabitant of the village Sāvirabhata in the Odra *visaya*, of the Kāśyapa *gotra*, whose *pravaras* were Vātsyāyana and Naidhruva, who belonged to the Kānva sākhā of the Yajurveda, (and) who was the son of Padama (Padma) (and) the grandson of Dhanaśarma; a quarter share of the *māla* is given to Bhataputra Vṛṣtideva, who was an emigrant from Sāvathi (*Srāvasti*), an inhabitant of the Yamagartta *mandala* (who belonged) to the Vātsya *gotra* (who had) *pravaras* with names of the five sages, (who belonged) to the Kānva sākhā of the Yajurveda, (and) who was the son of Llallada (and) grandson of Dhahukā. A quarter share of the *māla* (is being given) to Rāmadeva, son of the *bhaṭaputra* Vṛṣtideva, with grass and water, *Rūpya* (?) forty-four, in figure *rūpya* 44; is given by us by means of this copper-plate-grant. (Let it be) un-enterable by Chātas and Bhatas so long as the moon and the star last. (Here follows one of the usual imprecatory verses).



TALCHER PLATE OF GAVĀDATUNGADEVA.



TALCHER PLATE OF GAYĀDATUNGADEVA.



## 20. A New Persian Authority on Babur?

By L. F. RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS.

The discrepancies between the Indian and the Persian historians who deal with the relations between Babur and Shāh Isma'īl, are well known, and capable of a more or less satisfactory explanation. But the discrepancies between Khwāndāmīr and Haidar Mīrzā are of a different order. Each writer was exceptionally well-informed : each gathered his information at first hand, yet the contradictions are often glaring. This is the more to be regretted, in that each is a source of the utmost importance for Babur's history during the years A.D. 1510-11. I have some hopes that a third writer has come to light, who may perhaps help to clear up some of the disputed points.

While I was working in the famous library of H.H. the Nawab of Rampur, I was fortunate enough to make the acquaintance of Nawab Sahib Abdussalam Khan, father of the Chief Secretary of Rampur State. From time to time this gentleman, who possesses an excellent collection of historical works, has been kind enough to furnish me with excerpts which he thinks will help me in my investigation of Babur's career. One of these excerpts was from a work quite unfamiliar to me, the *Ahsanal-Siyar* of Mīrzā Barkhwardār Turkmān. The extract was of great value for the events of A.D. 1510-11, although it was quickly apparent that the author was greatly indebted to the *Habibal-Siyar*.

A subsequent visit to Rampur put me in possession of the following particulars. The volume consists of 411 pages numbered in a modern hand, each page measuring 6" by 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". The writing is a fairly clear semi-nasta'līq—the hand of a scholar rather than of a scribe. There are twenty-two lines to the page. The volume was purchased by the present owner in Lucknow some years ago, and the flyleaf bears a note that it had been purchased twice before, once in Shahjahanabad, once in Lucknow. One of the previous owners has written a Persian couplet, expressing his appreciation of the fact that his ownership is but transitory. The general condition of the volume is good, although the illuminated head-piece on the page bearing the *bi'smi'llāh* has been cut away, and the page itself is neatly mounted upon modern paper, glued into the binding. Worms have wrought little damage.

The original work was apparently in four volumes, of which the present is the fourth and concluding instalment : for on p. 306 there is mention of the author's second volume, and on

p. 322 of his third volume. The whole seems to have been dedicated to Shāh Isma'īl Safawī, and the present volume, which is plainly the conclusion of the whole, closes with an account of the perfections of this monarch and a recital of his praises.

The contents are as follows :—

Pages 1-6 *Preface*, in which the author states that he, being a Shi'a, has been led to combat some of the errors made in Khwāndāmīr's account of this period. It is noteworthy that the date of composition of the *Habībal-Siyar* is stated to be A.H. 927.

Pages 6-280. A detailed history of Shāh Ismā'il's reign.

Pages 280-305. An account of the poets and philosophers then flourishing in Persia.

Pages 306-411. A collection of curious stories, geographical descriptions, and the like, mainly borrowed from Khwāndāmīr, the *Maṭla' al-Sādāt*, and other sources.

The date of composition of the work was A.H. 930, as is shown by the *ta'rikh*.

بَلْ وَالْمُلْكُ وَالْأَنْبِيَا خَبْرُ ازْ جَانِبِانْ

I hope to publish before long some extracts from Mīrzā Barkhwardār's book, illustrating the extent of his indebtedness to Khwāndāmīr. My object in giving this premature and imperfect account of the fragment I have examined is to obtain, if possible, particulars of any other MSS. of it which may be in existence. It would appear from the catalogues that there is no copy in the British Museum, the India Office or the Bodleian.



## JULY, 1916.

The Monthly General Meeting of the Society was held on Wednesday, the 5th July, 1916, at 9-15 P.M.

LIEUT.-COL. SIR LEONARD ROGERS, Kt., C.I.E., M.D., B.S., F.R.C.P., F.R.C.S., F.A.S.B., F.R.S., L.M.S., President, in the chair.

The following members were present :—

Maulavi Abdul Wali, Dr. N. Annandale, Babu Nilmani Chakravarti, Dr. F. H. Gravely, Sir Thomas Holland, K.C.I.E., Dr. W. C. Hossack, Rev. H. Hosten, S.J., Rev. R. Oka, Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Shastri, C.I.E., Dr. Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

Twenty-four presentations were announced.

The General Secretary reported that Babu Ramakanta Bhattacharyya had expressed a desire to withdraw from the Society.

The General Secretary also reported the death of Mr. Edward Thornton.

The following gentlemen were balloted for as Ordinary Members :—

Mr. J. MacKenna, I.C.S., Agricultural Adviser to the Government of India, Pusa, Behar, proposed by Dr. N. Annandale, seconded by Mr. S. W. Kemp; Colonel H. T. Pease, C.I.E., M.R.C.V.S., Principal, Punjab Veterinary College, Lahore, proposed by Dr. N. Annandale, seconded by Mr. S. W. Kemp; Mr. W. S. Street, Merchant's Assistant, Messrs. Shaw Wallace & Co., proposed by Mr. R. D. Mehta, C.I.E., seconded by Dr. F. H. Gravely; Babu Ganapati Sarkar, Zemindar, 69, Beliaghata Main Road, Calcutta, proposed by Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Shastri, seconded by Babu Nilmani Chakravarti; Syed Naseer Hosein Khankhayab, Zemindar and Landholder, 78, Prinsep Street, Calcutta, proposed by Maulavi Aga Muhammad Kazim Shirazi, seconded by Mr. O. F. Jenkins; Mr. Z. R. Zahid Suhrawardy, M.A., B.L., Barrister-at-Law, 3, Wellesley 1st Lane, Calcutta, proposed by the Hon. Justice Sir Asutosh Mukerjee, Kt., seconded by Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Shastri, C.I.E.

Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Shastri exhibited a MS. of Buddhist Tantric Sanskrit of the tenth century in which Bombay is mentioned.

The President announced that there would be no meeting of the Medical Section during the month.



## AUGUST, 1916.

The Monthly General Meeting of the Society was held on Wednesday, the 2nd August, 1916, at 9-15 P.M.

LIEUT.-COL. SIR LEONARD ROGERS, Kt., C.I.E., M.D., B.S., F.R.C.P., F.R.C.S., F.A.S.B., F.R.S., I.M.S., President, in the chair.

The following members were present :—

Dr. N. Annandale, Dr. P. J. Bruhl, Dr. B. L. Chaudhuri, Dr. G. C. Chatterjee, Miss M. L. Cleghorn, Babu Hem Chandra Das Gupta, Dr. F. H. Gravely, Mr. H. G. Graves, Dr. W. C. Hossack, Mr. S. W. Kemp, Rev. R. Oka, Mr. W. H. Phelps, Dr. Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana, Mr. E. Vredenburg.

Visitors :—Mr. C. Cleghorn, Miss O. Cleghorn, Mr. A. Clark, Mrs. Kemp.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

Twenty-three presentations were announced.

The General Secretary reported the death of Sir Clements Markham, K.C.B., an Honorary Fellow of the Society.

The following gentleman was balloted for as an Ordinary Member :—

Pandit Ashwani Kumar Shukla, B.A., LL.B., Revenue Officer, Mewar State, Udaipore, proposed by Pandit Shiam Bihari Misra, seconded by Pandit Sri Ram Dikshit.

Dr. B. L. Chaudhuri exhibited a remarkable new Goby in which the male carries the eggs in a pair of pouches.

Dr. N. Annandale exhibited a new genus of limbless skink from an island in the Chilka Lake.

Dr. F. H. Gravely exhibited some Indian trap-door spiders and their nests.

Miss M. L. Cleghorn exhibited a living specimen of a very rare Indian toad (*Kaloula pulchra*).

The following paper was read. :—

*Zoological Results of a Tour in the Far East. I. The Molusca of Lake Biwa, Japan.*—By N. ANNANDALE, D.Sc., F.A.S.B., Zoological Survey of India.

This paper is being published in the Memoirs, Vol. VI.

The President announced that there would be no meeting of the Medical Section during the month.



## NOVEMBER, 1916.

The Monthly General Meeting of the Society was held on Wednesday, the 1st November, 1916, at 9-15 P.M.

LIEUT-COL. SIR LEONARD ROGERS, Kt., C.I.E., M.D., B.S., F.R.C.P., F.R.C.S., F.A.S.B., F.R.S., I.M.S., President, in the chair.

The following members were present :—

Maulavi Abdul Wali, Dr. N. Annandale, Rev. H. Hosten, S.J., Hon. Mr. F. J. Monahan, Mr. M. J. Seth, Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Shastri, C.I.E., Dr. Satis Chandra Vidya-bhusana.

*Visitors* :—Major H. M. Cowie, R.E., Mr. E. Stephen, Mr. J. H. Stephen.

The minutes of the August meeting were read and confirmed.

Seventy presentations were announced.

The General Secretary reported the death of Sir William Ramsay (an Honorary Fellow) and of Babu Satis Chunder Banerjee, Rai Bhawri Das Bhatra, Capt. S. Morton, 24th Punjabis; Mr. R. V. Russell, Maulavi Sofiulla Saifuddin Ahmed, Major H. H. Wilson, The King's Own Royal Lancaster Regiment; Nawabzada A. K. M. Abdus Subhan, Khan Bahadur (Ordinary Members) of the Society.

The General Secretary also reported that Dr. P. K. Ray, Babu Moti Lal Ganguly, Dr. Manmatha Nath Chaterjee and Sir Parday Lukis, K.C.S.I., had expressed a desire to withdraw from the Society.

The President announced that in accordance with Rule 38 of the Society's Rules, the names of the following eight members had been posted up as defaulting members since the last meeting, and their names had now been removed from the Member List :—

Maulavi Habibur Rahman Khan, Allahabad.  
Babu Chandra Kumar Sarkar, Kowkanik.  
Babu Sukmar Sen, Calcutta.  
Babu S. P. Sanyal, Maghaule.  
Pandit Tulsi Ram Misra, Kanauj.  
Mr. R. S. Bhatnagar, Shapur.  
Babu Briz Mohan Geonka, Calcutta.  
Mr. R. S. Ramulu Chitty, Madras.

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The following two gentlemen were elected Ordinary Members during the recess in accordance with Rule 7 :—

Rev. W. S. Sutherland, D.D.  
Rev. Hilarion Basdekas.

The following gentleman was proposed as an Honorary Fellow :—

Dr. G. A. Boulenger, F.R.S., LL.D., British Museum.

He is universally acknowledged as the greatest living authority on reptiles and has written one of the most valuable volumes in the "Fauna of British India"—it appeared 26 years ago, and he is still contributing papers to Indian Journals of Zoology.

The following gentleman was balloted for as an Ordinary Member :—

Mr. Adar Chandra Mitra, B.L., Law Publishing Press, Calcutta, proposed by Mahamahopadyaya Satis Chandra Vidya-bhusana, seconded by Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Shastri.

Rev. H. Hosten, S.J., exhibited two pictures showing Akbar with a Christian girl, whose name is given as Maryam Zamani Begam.

Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Shastri exhibited a palm-leaf manuscript in Valte-lu-ttu character.

The manuscript belonged to the family collection of Sir Sankaram Nair, the Education member of the Viceregal Council. It is written in Valte-lu-ttu character, which is a very rare kind of writing. Only one other document in this script is known to the antiquarian, and that is a document dated in the eighth century. It confers on a Jew named Iussuf Rabbani a principality in Cochin. The language in which the work is written, is old Tamil, like that of the Cochin document, but the numerals in which the leaves of the MSS. are marked belong to a later date, viz. fifteenth or sixteenth century. There are about a hundred leaves consecutively marked. There is a blank space on the reverse side of leaf 13.

The word Valte-lu-ttu means round hand as opposed to Kore-lu-ttu or the square hand. It is not known when the round hand went out of currency. A Nambubari Brahman at Benares says that it ceased to be a current character more than a hundred years ago. Dr. Busnell says it went out in the seventeenth century. Perhaps this is one of the last MS. written in that character. The Kore-lu-ttu, or square hand, is still current.

The following papers were read :—



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1. *Ormuri or Bargista Language.*—*By SIR GEORGE GRIERSON, K.C.I.E.*

This paper will be published in the *Memoirs*.

2. *Nahapana and the Saka Era.*—*By RAKHAL DAS BANERJI, M.A.*

3. *The Malda Diary and Consultation Book, 1680-1682.*  
*Edited by THE VEN'BLE W. K. FIRMINGER.*

4. *Folklore in Caste Proverbs.*—*By RAI BAHADUR B. A. GUPTA.*

5. *On some Indian Ceremonies for Disease Transference.*—*By SARAT CHANDRA MITRA.*

6. *A New Persian Authority on Babur?*—*By L. F. R. WILLIAMS.*

Papers 3, 4, 5 and 6 are being published in the *Journal*.

The President announced that there would be no meeting of the Medical Section during the month.



## DECEMBER, 1916.

The Monthly General Meeting of the Society was held on Wednesday, the 6th December, 1916, at 9-15 P.M.

LIEUT.-COL. SIR LEONARD ROGERS, Kt., C.I.E., M.D., B.S., F.R.C.P., F.R.C.S., F.A.S.B., F.R.S., I.M.S., President, in the chair.

The following members were present :—

Dr. N. Annandale, Rev. H. Basdekas, Dr. H. G. Carter, Miss M. L. Cleghorn, Babu Hem Chandra Das Gupta, Maulavi Mahomed Kazim Shirazi, Dr. Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana, Mr. E. Vredenburg.

*Visitors* :—Mrs. Carter, Miss O. Cleghorn, Mr. C. Cleghorn and two others.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

Forty-one presentations were announced.

The General Secretary reported that Dr. David Hooper and Mr. B. K. Basu, I.C.S., had expressed a desire to withdraw from the Society.

The President announced that the following twenty-six members being largely in arrears of subscriptions had been declared defaulters and that their names would be posted up in accordance with Rule 38 :—

Maulavi Abdus Salam, Presidency Magistrate, Calcutta.

Maulavi Abul Aas, Bankipur.

Munshi Ahmed Hosein Khan, Jhelum.

Maulavi Abdur Rahim, Calcutta.

S. A. Ashgar, Esq., Bar-at-law, Calcutta.

Babu Jogindro Chunder Ghose, Pleader, Calcutta.

Babu Abhoy Sankar Guha, Nowgong.

Babu Bepin Behari Gupta Chinsurah.

Babu Hem Chandra Goswami, Tezpur.

S. C. Ghatak, Esq., Dacca.

R. J. Hirst, Esq., Ranchi.

W. A. Lee, Esq., Calcutta.

Maulavi Midhat Hosein Khan, Simla.

Babu Manmatha Nath Moitra, Serampur.

Syed Muzaffar Ali Khan, Mazaffarnagar.

Babu Gobin Lal Mookerjee, Calcutta.

Rai Sahib Srikrishna Mohapatra, Puri.

Nawab Murtaza Hosain Khan, Lucknow.

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Babu Manahar Lal, Barrackpur.  
Capt. V. B. Nesfield, I.M.S. Banda.  
Babu Jyoti Prakas Nandi, Burdwan.  
Babu Surendra Chandra Rai Chaudhuri, Rungpur.  
Babu Girindra Kumar Sen, Calcutta.  
Syed Fida Ali, Arrah.  
Babu Sri Ram Poplai, Jullundur City.  
Kumar Shyma Kumar Tagore, Calcutta.

The following gentleman was balloted for and elected an Honorary Fellow :—

Dr. G. A. Boulenger, F.R.S., LL.D., British Museum.

The following gentlemen were balloted for and elected Ordinary Members :—

The Anagarika Dharmapala, General Secretary Mohabodhi Society, No. 4A College Square, Calcutta (for re-election), proposed by Dr. Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana, seconded by Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Shastri; Sri Baman Dasji Kaviraj, Ayurvedic and Unani Physician, 152, Harrison Road, Calcutta, proposed by Dr. Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana, seconded by Dr. F. H. Gravely.

Maulavi Aga Muhammad Shirazi on behalf of Dr. A. Suhrawardy read the following obituary notice of the late Shams-ul-Ulama Shaikh Mahmud Gilani :—

The death of His Eminence Shamsul-Ulama Shaikh Mahmud Gilani removes a prominent figure from the Muslim world of letters, and oriental scholarship once more suffers an irreparable loss.

Shaikh Mahmud Gilani was the fifth son of Shaikh Nasiruddin Gilani, the renowned Mujtahid of Persia. On account of the high esteem in which Shaikh Nasiruddin Gilani was held, Shah Muhammad, the premier nobleman of Gilan, gave his daughter in marriage to him. Six sons were born of this marriage, of whom Shaikh Abdullah and Shaikh Muhamud attained fame outside Persia.

Uniting in his person the traditions, influence and learning of one of the noblest families of Persia, Shaikh Mahmud came on a visit to India in his youth after a distinguished career in Persia, Mesopotamia and Arabia. Whilst in Calcutta he was persuaded to accept the position of the spiritual head of the Shaikh community. The Board of Examiners, Fort William, having come to learn of his stay in Calcutta offered him the appointment of Persian Instructor to the Board, which he accepted in 1880, and soon he was appointed a Fellow of the Calcutta University. The late Marquis of Dufferin and Ava, who was one of the pupils of the Shaikh, conferred upon him the title of Shamsul Ulama (the sun of the Ulama). He was

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the first recipient of this title, which, indeed, was especially created for him by Lord Dufferin. The Shaikh was further selected by his Lordship for the office of a minister in the Hyderabad State, but he declined to accept the appointment as unsuited to one of his retiring disposition and pious nature. He was one of the oldest Fellows of the University of Calcutta. For nearly twenty-five years he had been Examiner in Arabic and Persian to the various Indian Universities. Though he lived in retirement and seldom left his residence, the Calcutta University recently appointed him University Lecturer in Arabic and Persian, and the Government of Bengal granted him a literary pension only last year in recognition of his erudition.

Of commanding presence, stately figure and gifted with natural eloquence he stood unrivalled as a preacher, spiritual leader and scholar. A high priest of the Shias, he was held in high esteem and reverence by Shias and Sunnis alike. A man of retiring disposition, he never cared to have his name on a title-page, but his great scholarship was unstintedly placed at the disposal of other distinguished orientalists like Jarrett, Ranking, Phillott and others, who had acknowledged in their works their indebtedness to him. However, a work on Muslim jurisprudence written in his youth was published in Najaj (Mesopotamia) and is still exclusively used there.

For many years he was a member of the Philological Committee of this Society which benefited by his valuable advice and mature counsels.

After a short illness he died on Friday, the 22nd September 1916. The Office of the Board of Examiners, the University classes and the Madrasah were closed in his honour.

Mr. E. Vredenburg exhibited some Indian fossil shells of *Turbinella* for comparison with the recent Indian "Chank."

The following papers were read :—

(1) *On Secrecy and Silence in North Indian Agricultural Ceremonies.*—By SARAT CHANDRA MITRA. Communicated by the Anthropological Secretary.

This paper is being published in the *Journal*.

(2) *Zoological Results of a Tour in the Far East. Batrachia and Reptiles.*—By DR. N. ANNADALE.

(3) *Zoological Results of a Tour in the Far East. Aquatic Hemiptera from Tale Sap, Peninsular Siam.*—By C. A. PAIVA. Communicated by DR. N. ANNADALE.

Papers 2 and 3 are being published in the *Memoirs*, Vol. VI.

The President announced that the next adjourned meeting of the Medical Section would be held on Wednesday, the 13th December, 1916, at 9-15 P.M.



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The Adjourned Meeting of the Medical Section of the Society was held at the Society's Rooms on Wednesday, the 13th December, 1916, at 9-15 P.M.

LIEUT.-COL. SIR LEONARD ROGERS, Kt., C.I.E., M.D., B.S., F.R.C.P., F.R.C.S., F.A.S.B., F.R.S., I.M.S., President, in the chair.

The following members were present :—

Dr. U. N. Brahmachari, Dr. Harinath Ghosh, Col. C. R. M. Green, I.M.S., Lt.-Col. R. E. Lloyd, I.M.S., Major D. McCay, I.M.S.

*Visitor* :—Dr. H. Douglas Cameron.

The minutes of the April meeting were read and confirmed.

Lieut.-Colonel Sir Leonard Rogers, Kt., C.I.E., M.D., B.S., F.R.C.P., F.R.C.S., F.A.S.B., F.R.S., I.M.S., read a paper entitled "Chronic Splenomegaly in Lower Bengal with special reference to the prevalence and clinical differentiation of Kala-azar."

Rai Bahadur Dr. Upendra Nath Brahmachari, M.A., M.D., Ph.D., read a paper entitled "Fourth Report on the treatment of Kala-azar."